

# AMERICA

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### The Prince of Peace

THE birthday of the Prince of Peace has come and gone, and the world still prepares for war. In the Christmas Allocution to the College of Cardinals, the Holy Father referred anxiously to the clamor of war which accompanies the increase in armaments prepared by the nations. Peace, said the Vicar of Christ, "is truly Our prayer, Our thought, and Our desire. It is said, 'If you wish for peace, prepare for war,' by which is meant that in all these armaments we are to see but a precaution, a guarantee against war. We wish to believe this, because too terrible would be the reality contrary to this desire."

Every patriot, irrespective of his religious belief, shares this desire of the Holy Father. Yet it daily becomes more difficult to believe that armaments are being massed throughout the world to guarantee peace. That beguiling phrase has been steadily put forward for 2,000 years. It has been repeated again and again by successive leaders who gave the world three centuries of war, and reserved the greatest of all wars for the twentieth century. Were the councils of nations generally ruled by principles of justice, we might attribute some sincerity, a measure of truth, to the theory that the best way of preserving peace is to teach the world that you are too powerful to be attacked. But justice does not rule these councils.

We speak today, as the Holy Father points out, of racial rights and of national rights. But instead of testing these alleged rights by the immutable principles of justice, we think we can vindicate them by national mob movements and national legislation. "It is not law that creates justice," said the Holy Father, "but justice that creates the law." And when nations, substituting statutes for justice, and might for right, enter into an armament

race, it is all but impossible to believe that the preservation of peace is their aim and their prayer.

Yet the picture is not wholly dark. The tireless work of peace leagues and associations for many years is beginning to create an effective national hatred for war. In the United States, for instance, we have begun to realize that for many years one of the chief causes of war has been the profit reaped by manufacturers of munitions. It is not possible to subscribe to all the testimony that has been adduced at the hearings of the committee headed by Senator Nye, since in some instances, at least, the qualifications of the witness were not sufficiently established. Two points, however, emerge clearly: first, that the profit motive is a powerful temptation to the manufacturer of munitions, and, second, that this motive must be sternly checked, perhaps even destroyed.

The clash between President Roosevelt and Senator Nye, which seemed inevitable in the opening weeks of December, now appears to have been averted. On December 26, Senator Nye conferred with the President on legislation, it is said, which will regulate the profit motive in war. This is the first of a series between the Executive and the Senate committee, and is said to have been arranged at the request of the President. In that case, the Senate committee, which has already expended the appropriation granted it, will be given an extension. It would certainly be regrettable were the committee checked, as other committees have been checked, at the very point of its highest usefulness. What the committee discovers will not only be of the highest value to Congress in planning appropriate legislation. Given due publicity, it will create a strong public opinion against war which will act as a proper check on the war mongers.

It is generally understood that the committee has only begun its work. "Munitions" is a general term, and the

whole field is not occupied by factories producing guns. The steel, chemical, and ship-building industries are also in this field, and back of them, certifying to the profit motive, are the controllers of finance. All must be thoroughly and impartially inspected, if Congress and the country is to have a true picture of what is comprised by "munitions."

"What a cruel thing is war," wrote Robert E. Lee, on Christmas Day, 1862, "to separate and destroy families and friends, and mar the purest joys and happiness God has granted us in this world; to fill our hearts with hatred instead of love for our neighbors, and to devastate the fair face of this beautiful world!" This greatest captain of our English-speaking race, as Theodore Roosevelt called him, had no illusions as to the glories of war. Nor can any man who either by study or through cruel experience learns what war is.

### Forty-five Legislatures!

ONLY four States, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia, are blessed this year in greeting no session of the legislature. In the other forty-four, and at Washington, nearly 8,000 legislators fall to work.

It is thought that the President desires a short session, but he may be obliged to withdraw his wish as time goes on. Since the emergency legislation expires in June, it will be incumbent upon Congress to assess the whole situation and decide whether the New Deal is to be retained, revamped, or repealed. Repeal is highly improbable, as is retention, in its present form. The task of Congress—and it is no easy one—is to devise ways and means of retaining all that seems to be of permanent value in the emergency legislation, and of enforcing it.

One question that will not down is "What is to be done with section 7a?" The present condition, with three major cases hanging fire in the courts, certainly does not satisfy labor. It satisfies some employers as little. While these may not wholly sympathize with labor's view of the section, they are practical men, and if the Government intends to sustain labor's interpretation, they are prepared for a just compromise on details. But until they know what interpretation the Government favors, they are at a standstill.

The President is believed to incline to the views expressed by the more moderate labor leaders. He approves the collective bargaining set forth in the section, and the organization of employees in groups chosen freely by themselves. But he is opposed to pressure by union leaders, should the workers prefer another type of organization. If the respective organizations of workers and employers cannot agree, he believes that the case should be referred to a Federal agency, such as the National Labor Relations Board. There is little doubt that the President can get from Congress precisely the legislation he recommends. Nothing can prevent that, unless the Democrats should break into blocs, and at present that does not seem probable.

Recovery legislation will not be the sole business of

Congress. Immediate payment of the bonus to veterans will be pressed vigorously, and without much regard to the ability of the country to pay and save its credit. Few citizens pray for Congress, preferring to express their feelings in vituperation. As a change, prayer might be agreeable. Besides, Congress needs it.

### Stupid Public Utilities

A GREAT public-service corporation in New York has complained that it can never have a damage suit tried before an impartial jury. The complaint is certainly true. For twenty years, this corporation has overlooked no wile or stratagem that could possibly aid in alienating the public. Its general manager, recently retired, was harsh and arbitrary in dealing with the employees, and insulting in his messages to the public. But the corporation's legal counsel went far beyond the general manager. He too had a fondness for interviews, and what the manager would leave unsaid, this lawyer would present in phrases that were at once the admiration and the despair of the general manager. The corporation's attitude, stated in fairly polite language, was that in selling its wares it was conferring upon the public a favor of which the public was wholly unworthy.

The fall in receipts during the recent lean years has taught several corporations that courtesy to the public can be a most valuable asset. One may now ask a question of a railway-ticket agent, without being exposed to a yell or a sneer. If he does not know the answer, he will probably tell you where the information sought can be obtained. Railway conductors, and trainmen in general, whose manners only a few years ago were studied by archeologists as a genuine survival of the manners in vogue in the more retarded of the Neanderthal villages, are now, comparatively at least, civilized. But of the executives and the public-relations counselors of the utilities which sell power and light, some still hold to the older day of tooth and claw, while others exhibit an IQ which would be considered somewhat scandalous in a kindergarten. As an example of this latter phase, the utility company in New York, which waited for the Christmas season and President Roosevelt's scathing arraignment of utility companies to demand higher rates, may be cited.

Business men are commonly supposed to be "smart." Perhaps they are, as long as they sell small wares over the counter, but put in charge of public-utility companies they seem to turn into gibbering idiots—and are as dangerous as idiots can sometimes be. The chairman of the Federal Power Commission, Frank R. McNinch, recently said that the gas and electric-lighting companies could cut their rates by about fifty per cent, and still make a good profit. But no utility company in this category has even considered a cut approaching fifty per cent. Most of them are clamoring for higher rates, at the very time when the public is demanding a reduction, and is determined to get it.

We do not believe that the Government's plans will be carried out easily, or without a fight in the Courts. What



is to be done about the millions invested in public-utility companies by educational and charitable institutions, and by private individuals, should cities, States, and the Federal Government enter this field, constitutes a problem that cannot be solved by a stroke of the pen. One thing, however, is certain. Unless the administrators and controllers of our public-utility companies mix a small amount of brains with their efforts, the problem never will be solved.

## Tennessee to the Fore

CONSIDERING that two lynchings within eighteen months were two more than enough, the Governor of Tennessee called out the State troops when a third was threatened. The necessity was regrettable; the result was admirable. Four rioters were killed, but the prisoner was rescued. More to the point, the authority of the State was vindicated.

The general rule for lynchings has hitherto been very simple. A man is accused of crime, a mob gathers, and fortifying itself with strong drink, demands the prisoner. After a show of reluctance, the authorities yield, and the prisoner—or man suspected, merely, of crime—is murdered. As a variation, the authorities call upon the Governor who replies that he has full confidence in the ability of the local officials to deal with the situation. But in either case, the result is the same. The man is murdered, and the authority of the State is trampled on by the mob. The Governor may then express his regret; he may, however, announce that he will pardon any of the murderers if, by some strange chance, one should be discovered, and after indictment and trial, be convicted. It should be added that no Governor has thus far exercised his pardoning power in this manner. The reason is that after a lynching few are indicted, and none convicted. All that usually happens is that the community, having successfully defied the law, gets ready for another lynching.

Should the example of the Governor of Tennessee be generally adopted, the simple rule for lynching will become somewhat more complicated. It will include physicians for the lynchers, undertakers to prepare them for burial, and a graveyard in which the bodies may be interred.

But we do not feel sure that the lust for lynching which exists in some American communities will be cured by gunpowder. The evil lies too deep. Still, it will probably be restrained, and, as the murderers are gradually weeded out, it will languish. A much better method of aiding any community afflicted with this moral plague is to encourage the introduction and support of religious and educational agencies. But until this can be done, the State will find it necessary to repress lynchers by destroying them. For lynching is not merely a crime against the natural and the moral law, but a crime against the judicial order.

To take human life, except in necessary self-defense, is murder, an act forbidden by the natural and by the revealed law of God. In addition, the lyncher also incurs

the guilt of rebellion against the authority of the state, since by presuming to put to death a man accused of crime, he usurps a right, and its corresponding duty, belonging exclusively to the state. The natural tendency of this act is to bring the authority of the state, which, it should be remembered, is the authority of Almighty God Himself, into disrepute, and by degrees to destroy it. Hence, when other means of protecting itself have failed, or are not available, the state not only may, but must use force against all who attack it.

Force, however, is an extreme measure. It was used properly in Tennessee and we trust that it will be similarly invoked in similar circumstances in other States. For it is an ominous sign of the general breakdown of government, that after some recent lynchings the highest authorities in the State have condoned and, as in California, have actually approved this crime against the individual, the State, and Almighty God. But, as we have repeatedly urged, force does not strike at the root of this crime. It is rather, an emergency measure. After every lynching the state should carefully examine the community in which it has occurred, and authoritatively introduce methods of lifting its people from the moral and civic degradation into which they have fallen. While the first duty of the state is to punish the lynchers, it cannot escape its larger duty of using its authority to elevate and civilize the community in which the lynchers have operated.

This work belongs primarily to the school and the Church, but it must be supported by the state. As a rule, communities infested with this crime are illiterate communities, and communities in which religion has been corrupted. The prompt action of the Governor of Tennessee is worthy of all praise, but the real cure of lynching is to be found not in gunpowder but in religion and in education.

## Does Might Make Right?

THE gentleman with a mask and a gun who stops you as you turn the dark corner and relieves you of your valuables is, in a certain sense, a mighty man. But you do not think of him as an admirable person, to be held in deep respect. You set up a call for the watch, and you hope to see him languish in jail, with a ball and chain attached to his person. You admit his might, but you deny his right over your person and your property.

Far be it from us to liken the Federal Government, or any of our State Governments, to a highwayman, although these new and odious taxes hint a similitude. We would only observe that with governments, as with men, might does not make right.

When a powerful nation invades a small nation and by cannon and airplanes forces a cession of territory, the injustice is plain. Whatever phrases may be used by the diplomats, we all know quite well that this nation is acting on the principle that might makes right. But when a nation, great or small, turns on a humble citizen, and by force, exercised through its prestige, or the timidity of the citizen, diminishes or destroys the least of his rights,

it too has acted on the principle that might makes right.

We have no doubt that the Supreme Court might hold that a man's first duty is to the state, and not to his conscience. Nor have we any doubt that, in case of war, the Government has the power to turn all conscientious objectors over to a firing squad. Nor, finally, have we any doubt that, in this case, it would act on the principle that might makes right. Not every action of the Government is "right." It is "right" only when done under the powers granted it, and when it is in accord with the natural and the Divine laws. This proposition may enrage some of our critics, but we propose to stand by it.

### Note and Comment

#### Merry Solstice

A REMARKABLE feature of the anti-Christian forces which are striving to abolish Christmas is their inability to provide a substitute which even remotely approaches the feast of Christ's birthday in its message to the human heart. The Soviets could not think of anything in the way of substitutes, so they gave the boys another workday. Instead of God made man, they made belts and pulleys into God. In Germany, for the first time since the missionaries brought Christmas to the barbarous Teuton tribes, the pagan Nazi elements resurrected the old Winter solstice festival and offered that as an improvement on Christmas. They called it the festival of Jul. Tongues of flame leaped from solstice pyres. Men of the labor service army, holding burning torches, lined up before gigantic pyres. The Hitler Youth staged solstice celebrations in various parts of Germany. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* burst forth with its solstice carol: "Holy fires we light to celebrate the turning of the sun." "The day of the Winter solstice was holy to our ancestors," sang the Governor of Brandenburg, according to the *New York Times*, "and the period around the Winter solstice was filled with the fairyland magic of the Nordic soul. Gifts were exchanged without an indecent hindthought of getting a reward from Heaven in return. The Nordic man did not think of a reward for decent deeds." The peace of crackling, flaming pyres succeeds the peace of Christ in the Nordic soul, and pagan Nazis call out: "Merry Solstice" as they greet one another on Winter Solstice morn.

#### Catholics in Albania

THE news sent by the Associated Press on Christmas Eve, December 24, of a revolt in Albania against the rule of King Zog, against which His Majesty has been obliged to take vigorous measures, comes as an impressive comment on the facts presented to the Secretariats of the League of Nations on October 11 of this year by emigré members of the Catholic minority in that country. Modern history is filled with examples of the instability of governmental regimes founded upon violations of the rights of minorities; and it would seem that Albania may

need to take heed lest its present rulers forget this general axiom. The action taken by King Zog's Government, as described in this memorandum, was purely arbitrary and of that narrow-minded sort of folly that forces into unconquerable opposition the very native elements which are needed to preserve the nation's strength. Catholics who tried in 1932 to elect their candidates to the national legislature were imprisoned. Their children are deprived of Catholic teachers in the schools, while Catholic schools are closed and co-education, repugnant to the moral sense of a semi-oriental people, is enforced in the government institutions. All this is in contravention of the Government's own guarantees of October 2, 1932, which accorded to Albanian Catholic communities "full right to establish schools of various grades in the language of the population, schools over which their religious heads possess the full right of jurisdiction." The fact that M. Tsaldaris, Prime Minister of Greece, was recently interpellated in the Senate at Athens on the treatment of the Greek minority in Albania, does not add assurance as to the wisdom of the rule sponsored by King Zog. Two great nations, Italy and Jugoslavia, watch jealously over the realm of this Adriatic monarch. Either one of them might consider whether it is to its interest, or to that of the rest of the world, to have his rule enter the catalogue of those who ruin their own strength by contempt for the weak.

#### All the Faiths Protest on Mexico

SOME weeks ago this Review stated that the success of our campaign of enlightenment and formation of public opinion depended on the measure in which we received the cooperation of all our fellow-citizens. In the years 1926-29, when the Calles persecution was at its height, hardly a voice was raised in our behalf. The people generally stood by apathetically, when it was not wholly hostile. It was the Catholics' show, was the general attitude: let them pull it off. "We refuse to be involved in a struggle which may involve us in an unwanted war of aggression for the oil companies (which also were at odds with Calles), still less for the Catholics. It's none of our business." Now look at the change that has taken place. No oil or other kindred dispute disturbs the clarity of the situation. The whole world now knows that a pure unadulterated attempt is being made to destroy religion out of the hearts of the little ones in Mexico. And it has not been slow to act. Some weeks ago, 500 clergymen, all but five of them non-Catholics, signed a statement condemning attacks on religious liberty in Mexico. In Detroit, on December 12, a meeting was held at which the speakers were Catholics, Protestants, Jews, indiscriminately; and on December 16, in Brooklyn, a mass meeting was held in which the speakers were a Presbyterian minister, a Jewish rabbi, and a Catholic layman, and the resolution of protest was offered by a prominent Methodist layman. The movement will undoubtedly spread. For some years the National Conference of Jews and Christians has been ably agitating for fuller cooperation among members of all religions in those matters in which they can cooperate. Here is one of those matters actually before us. The



Conference could do no better work in furthering its aims than to spread this movement of cooperation on Mexico throughout the country, just as it took the initiative by securing the signatures to the protest of the 500.

#### Nippon and Birth Control

THE birth-controllers have always had a refuge when too hard-pressed by the discouraging fact that their propaganda has already given indubitable evidence that it leads to depopulation in the United States. They could always reply to taunts from this direction: "There is a vast field for population restraint in the Orient. Look at the Japanese! Their tight little island is bursting from human surplus. Teach them population diminution through birth control, and you have removed the major cause of their friction with their neighbors in the Pacific. With lessened pressure on their over-inhabited territory, they will be less aggressive in penetrating alien lands, and a threat to the world's peace will have been removed." This refuge, however, for hard-pressed birth-controllers has been rudely invaded. The Japanese, it appears, will not swallow the remedy so kindly provided for their ills. In *Foreign Affairs* for January, A. E. Hindmarsh bluntly demolishes this hope. The popular notion of the Japanese as eagerly welcoming instruction in the art of lessening families as a relief from their political distress he dismisses as a myth. The Japanese will not accept birth control, says Mr. Hindmarsh, because it frustrates the desire, engendered by their native religious belief, to leave a multitude of descendants. In the Japanese view, the more descendants you possess, the greater number of souls you can count upon to honor you during life and to worship your memory after you are dead. Mere economic reasons, still less considerations of supposed marital felicity, are nothing in comparison with this. Hence birth control, as a solution for Nippon's ills, is definitely ruled out, in the opinion of Mr. Hindmarsh, and its propagandists had best seek other worlds to conquer.

#### Propaganda for Birth Control

THERE are very definite signs that the birth-control people are marshaling their forces for the coming session of Congress. A whole series of inspired articles has been appearing in the New York papers, notably the *World-Telegram* and the *Sun*, usually on the woman's page, or in the book reviews, in which a recent book on the subject has received wide mention. Two of the points mentioned will interest Catholics especially: "natural" birth control and relief appear constantly as a take-off for this propaganda. The idea of the first is that Catholics have withdrawn their opposition to birth control since their Church has recently (sic) given its approval to the rhythm theory. There is a deliberate and incorrigible misrepresentation of the Catholic position on this matter. You call two things as opposed as light and darkness by the same name, and you have us approving sin and right at one and the same time. It is artificial contraception, as a definite and positive act, which Catholics are opposed

to, not the spacing of births by abstention when there is a reason for it. The distinction is easy and clear; but the propagandists will not get it; it cannot be said they cannot get it. Then there come the "findings" of the Milbank Fund which purport to show on very slight evidence that when you give relief to people they immediately begin to have more babies. *Ergo*, take relief away from those people who refuse to practise birth control, even if it is against their conscience. The viciousness of this proposal and the unashamedness with which it is offered are alarming. It is about time Catholics wake up about it, or we will find ourselves in serious conflict with State and Federal authorities who have been deluded by smooth pleaders into using relief as a bludgeon to force birth control on us.

#### Father Coughlin's Interpretations

CONFUSION seems to exist in some readers' minds about a phrase used here two weeks ago about our agreement with Father Coughlin's economic proposals. Many of his sixteen points, of course, are a re-statement of the commonplaces of social justice; analysis shows only six to be concrete proposals: nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 15. Those in turn boil down to these: nationalization of banks and of power-and-light companies, immediate payment of Government bonds with currency, and conscription of wealth in war. The stocks and bonds of the banks and utilities would be paid for in currency, as would the Government bonds (which, incidentally, involves cancelation of war debts). Most economists are agreed that this would amount to confiscation, since the currency resulting would have little or no value. It is not valid to say there is no difference between interest-bearing bonds and currency, except that currency pays no interest. Both are promises to pay, it is true, but the long-term character of the bonds carries confidence over crises, while currency is repayable on demand, and a slight loss in confidence in it always results in a transfer of dollars into funds abroad or into things, whose price under the increased demand rises to infinite heights, as Germany found out to its cost. It is not true to say that these things are found in the Encyclicals or are interpretations of them.

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# The Struggle for National Integrity in 1934

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

**D**URING the year 1934 the Soviet Union undertook to give continued proof of the thesis upon which its present regime builds its policy: that Socialism can be established in a single State, even though the rest of the world is hostile. That the year would greatly contribute to the success of this program, was confidently hoped. "The year 1934," prophesied at the close of 1933 the official organ, *Pravda*, of the Communist party, "will be a year of unprecedented increase of culture in the widest meaning of the word—the culture of a new life for tens of millions of workers and peasants. What government in the whole world can present an actual plan of such scope?!" Whatever developments may have taken place towards the fulfilment of this plan, the close of the year 1934 found the Soviet regime still disturbed as to the relations with the outside world which appeared to imperil its integrity as an isolated Socialist State. The debts question remained unsettled with the United States. There remained, from the Soviet point of view, the same "vicious circle" as had existed before M. Litvinov set foot as envoy in the United States. American credits were refused because Russia remained in default over American claims; while the claims could not be paid since the Soviets were unable to raise the wherewithal through the marketing of goods to be financed by American credit. And seven or eight months of negotiations only served to convince the American State Department that some cog had slipped in the Soviet business calculations.

Despite the innumerable peace pacts of 1933, despite Russia's entry into the League of Nations in 1934, the fear of war remained as acute as ever in the Soviet Union. It was stilled on the Western front, to be revived on the Eastern horizon; and the close of the year found Russia involved with Japan over Soviet nationals who had crossed the border into Manchukuo. The spirit of the Russian people, as shown in 1933, stated the Moscow *Pravda* as quoted (December 28, 1933), was the "guarantee" that in 1933 all "monsters" would be got out of the way, especially the monster of transportation difficulties, the chief obstacle to industry, agriculture, and military preparation. But the railroads gave trouble at the close of 1934 as they had a year previous. The soul of the people had not yet been sufficiently fortified. The extraordinary congress of Communist writers that met in Moscow in August of this year concentrated on the development of the Bolshevik soul. The very existence of the congress was a recognition that men are more swayed by spiritual motives than by material force. It became painfully evident, however, as the deliberations proceeded, that the Bolshevik soul is an elusive affair. The attempt to formulate it in terms of heroism, or rather of national heroes, resulted in creations that were never altogether convincing. The need of an heroic personality as a means for forming

the folk personality has obsessed the Soviet regime in recent times; and expressed itself in such widely different affairs as national industrial or agricultural workers' contests and exploits of Arctic exploration. But it is one thing to get a few hundred Iowa farmers to attend a corn-husking contest in a spirit of jollification; another to fire by such devices into heroic enthusiasm the souls of 80,000,000 or more placid Russian peasants.

But Socialism was not the only system that found it difficult to maintain its integrity during the past year. Democratic nations found themselves likewise subjected to disturbing influences from abroad. There was an increasing realization that the present interdependence of nations—in the field of economy and of ideas—brings into operation a leveling system between systems of government. Consciously, or unconsciously, they are influenced one by the other. Human selfishness is a menace to the integrity of the individual in any community. In the community of nations, when such selfishness is organized into vast international interests, it is a menace to national integrity. How can it be combated?

At the dawn of 1934, few thought to see the year through without war, invoked by one or the other great nation for this very purpose. But the year ended, save for the miserably prolonged conflict in the Chaco region of South America, in a worldwide peace. The sparks at several of the worst danger points appear to have been quenched. It is as if mankind, at least its more intelligent leaders, had come to some glimmering understanding that war, save where invoked in sheer self-defense, is not the best instrument for preserving the integrity of the national soul. A few instances may make this clear.

The stars in their courses for a time fought against a settlement of the tinderbox of the Saar. Yet an agreement was reached; and barring some unpredictable turn of events, the plebiscite will be conducted this month which all the world thought frankly impossible of fulfilment. What is more, the very means for safeguarding tranquillity in the Saar region is an international army, French, Dutch, Swedes, Britishers, which the League of Nations is crowing over with the affection of a triumphant hen. These are her own little soldiers, not made of tin or linoleum paste, but the genuine article: thus proving to the League's satisfaction that the cruel reproach of utter impotence may not be henceforth leveled at Geneva. Even the poor Saarlanders venture to smile.

Competitor with the Saar in the sphere of threats was the outbreak of recriminations between Yugoslavia and Hungary, consequent to the assassination of King Alexander. Charges of international terrorism were met by mass deportations. Here again, however, the League succeeded in vindicating itself as an institution for substituting debate for violence. The incipient belligerents were restrained; and the League began studies preliminary to



filling in the legal vacuum which the terrorist situation created.

While the naval conversations in London between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan left the matter where it began, there were doors left open for future agreement. The year ended with a better understanding by the public, at least in the Western nations, of the position of their respective rivals; and a greater disinclination to resort to competitive building, much less to actual war, where it could be avoided. The indignation with which the revelations of the Senate munitions investigations in Washington were greeted abroad, particularly in Great Britain, somewhat subsided, and gave reluctant way to popular demand that some querying, if not actual "fishing," be done in the Old World as well.

French preoccupation over German rearmament was moderated to some extent by the preoccupations which France's bloodless constitutional revolution caused at home, while Poland consolidated its new policy of friendship, particularly in the commercial order, with Germany, much to the disturbance of the Little Entente, which, in turn, adopted as conciliatory an attitude towards Poland as Poland appeared willing to have them assume. The Poles were reminded by the Czechs of the support that the latter had given them in their struggle for national existence at the close of the World War, while Polish reproaches of non-conduct of Italian troops across Czech territory at the time of Poland's danger were mildly reasoned with by the press of Prague.

As for the Soviet Government, its Ambassador abroad, its 100,000-watt radio station at home, broadcast in season and out of season its passion for international peace. Peace, that is to say, from dreaded attacks upon the integrity of the Soviet state, which was well aware that war was not the best safeguard for Russian national integrity. Witness was history. Just what that peace policy means was succinctly put by Comrade Kaganovich at the meeting of the Moscow Communist party on January 17 of last year (*italics his*):

We must unavoidably reckon with the fact that we are surrounded on all sides by imperialistic governments, in which the Socialist revolution has not yet been victorious. Hence our task: *to make use in every way of the contradictions which exist between the capitalistic nations and not to give them the opportunity to adjust their own differences at the expense of the SSSR.* To carry on a policy of peace, actively to fight for peace, thereby strengthening the readiness for defense, the prestige, and the authority of the Soviet nation.

Not because of, but in spite of the Soviet "peace" program which the League, despite its reputed idealism, seems heartily to have fallen for, were any of the afore-said differences adjusted during this past year. But while war was viewed a little more calmly, a new battle front became more evident: the battle for the State control of the individual soul. Here again the aggressive Marxian attitude provoked an aggressive reaction in the direction of spiritual totalitarianism; opening up a problem for the nation that wishes to be governed neither by revolution nor by reaction, but by principles that take into account the spiritual dignity of the human personality.

The world press, with few exceptions, failed to make clear that the suppression of the Socialist regime in Austria was a revolt on the part of those who clung to Austria's traditions of greatness against the complete Socialist preemption of the souls of her citizens, particularly of her young. During the year Austria was the battleground of the three principal forces which contend for the human personality in Europe: the atheistic and Marxian, the nationalist-racialist reaction against the same; and the Catholic stand for the spiritual destiny and dignity of the individual. With opposing philosophies of life and government the same contest was repeated all over the world. Mexico saw the open boast upon the part of the bandit State of its intended entry into the soul of every Mexican child, with the avowed purpose of using the individual soul as one would use the army for an instrument of national policy. Italy saw military training extended to sub-Balilla infants. Germany was be-goebbled, rosenberged and be-muellered, with the Lutherans in the vanguard and the Catholics as yet in the offing, thanks to the impending Saar vote, awaiting their turn. South America saw the outbreak of the APRA movement, with the soul of the Indian used as a sort of ideological lever to move the soul of the white man and the foreigner. In French Masonic circles, which consider themselves the official guardians of national integrity, the problem was complicated by the division that had recently taken place: the Judeo-Socialistic element being indignantly repudiated by the capitalistic Old Guard of anti-clericals, who had been asleep too long and awoke to realize how far Masonry had progressed since the Grand Architect of the Universe had been supplanted by the architect of the industrial socialistic State. With the new centralization of power in the hands of the executive, will come, undoubtedly, a contest for the control of that omnipotent irreligiously neutral educational monopoly on which French party government has heretofore relied for its victories at the polls.

The idea that the State is not safe unless it can mould the individual soul to its own liking is politically as well as philosophically false. It rests upon a narrow, mechanistic view of the social order. It forgets that real and lasting national greatness was never founded upon any such regimentation. In its anxiety to attain security at home, it forgets also, as was pointed out by the Bishops of Holland in their joint Pastoral on February 2 of this year, that "many existing problems are of an international order and cannot be solved by the government of any one country." In the words of the same Bishops: "the welfare of all is the welfare of free persons each of whom has his own destiny. . . . For the well-ordered common good is safeguarded only by recognizing man's personal autonomy with the limits of the social order. This is why the Church, in her doctrine, has always furnished the best principles for the existence of just social relationships."

Says O. W. Riegel in his "Mobilizing for Chaos," speaking of the modern use of cable, radio, and telephone:

Electrical communication created a powerful device for uniting and nationalizing populations in which lingered the vestiges of

medieval localism. It was a potent aid to nationalistic education, the nationalistic army, the nationalistic church, and the nationalistic press in their services to the inculcation of patriotism. It became the nervous system through which nationalistic impulses were carried to every corner of the State. . . . The control of communications is, in brief, accepted everywhere as one of the prerogatives of the nationalistic State and indispensable to its existence.

The coming year will undoubtedly see an increased attempt on the part of those governments which are weak-

est in the Christian tradition of personal, spiritual worth, to control as an instrument of national integrity the individual soul. It will see materialism and racialism enlisted in support of this tendency. It will likewise see a stiffening on the part of those who believe in a personal God and an immortal spiritual soul to resist this tendency: whether these believers be Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, or Jew. If the governments are wise for their own good, they will heed the believers' warning.

## Losses and Gains for Social Justice

WILFRID PARSONS, S.J.

IT is a strange thing about scientific progress that the more we perfect the means for communicating ideas the more confusion seems to ensue in people's minds. In another article, Father LaFarge quotes a writer who comments on the ironic results of wireless, radio, and the cable in the international field. 'What might have been supposed to be a cord of union between nations has actually resulted in separating them, because the means for diffusing ideas have been appropriated by nations as a means of enforcing nationalistic passions. In the same way, what might have been supposed to be a means of bringing about a union of minds on the national problems at home seems actually to result in more confusion. Even the New Deal, the nearest thing we have to unanimity in this country, will be found upon dissection as it lies in people's brains to be a welter of contradictions.

Why is this? Communication is too rapid. Ideas have no time to incubate. No sooner has one set of thoughts begun to move and live in our minds than it is replaced by another, insidiously alike and thunderously different. In older times people belonged to schools of thought. They were subjected to a steady stream of suggestions that finally filled every crevice of their consciousness. The other ideas had no time to reach them, and when they did the process of displacing the old ones was slow. Now, everybody belongs to every school of thought. No set of ideas has time to capture him. No sooner has he adopted one idea—usually not an idea, but the application of an idea—than another one creeps in from newspaper, radio, or movie that belongs to another set of first principles and sits down beside it. The result is that our minds are not a mosaic with one pattern, but a painter's palette.

In the concrete what does this mean? It means that we are both New Deal and Old Deal, cooperation and laissez-faire, reformers and reactionaries, all at once, though in different moments. What makes this possible, of course, is that economics is not in practice an exact science, with its ascertained facts and laws, however much the professor in his study may theorize about it; it unfortunately gets all mixed up in our minds with the practical problem of "making money," which means in varying degrees and various persons power, comfort, or bare security. The result is that we do not hesitate to adopt from one school of thought an idea that seems to promise

us one of these three things, but feel no shame or mental discomfort in taking up with another idea from an enemy camp that bears the same promise, even though the realization of both of them at the same time is an impossibility.

Thus the fortunes of the abstract ideal of social justice during 1934 have been extremely hazardous.

First of all, we have found out that when the realizing of this ideal depends upon government, that is, upon politics, the result is always a compromise. It is whispered that when the Brain Trust first made this important discovery it was filled with gloom. The public mind, due to the winds and rains of opposite opinion that beat upon it, is a shifting sand. Private, and organized public, interests demand their rights of representation. Economic conditions, usually the result of errors and crimes of a former year, are unmanageable. Moral obligations sit very lightly on consciences when greed and the struggle for a living are at grips with each other. No ideal is fully practicable. Apparently the only one in the whole country who fully realizes this fact is the Man in the White House, and because he does, President Roosevelt has been called everything from a moron to a liar. So social justice this past year, as every other year, has followed a zig-zag course, and sometimes has had to take one step backward after two steps forward.

Still another factor in the puzzle has been overlooked in public discussion. You cannot talk privately with any insider in the field of either capital or labor without receiving the most horrifying revelations of dishonest dealing with other people's money. It is not a question of social injustice, but of individual dishonesty, not exploitation, but thievery. Here is a labor union which a year ago had \$1,000,000 in its treasury, and now has been looted of every cent of it. But here is an investment trust all of whose officers ought to be in jail for what they did with the millions entrusted to them. In fact, a responsible figure in the financial world has made the considered statement (privately, of course) that the depression, far more than to bad economics, was due to plain stealing. According to him, and very many others, the scandal is far too big to break, even if you could bring the facts in the open. Those who know will not bear the odium of being accusers, even if they were persuaded that not punishing the



guilty was a greater evil than the loss of public confidence that would ensue. A big obstacle in the path of social justice is individual dishonesty. Yet no real progress can be made unless that obstacle is removed or hurdled.

Finally, we have not yet arrived at the fulness of a social conscience. Even after three years of preaching the Encyclicals to the world, after a dozen fireside talks from the President, and a book from nearly every member of the Cabinet, and the sub-Cabinet, it cannot be said that we have got very far in impregnating the national mind with the very feeling of social responsibility. The test of that is the willingness to make a sacrifice of personal gain for the common good, even when it is clearer than day that this sacrifice will result in a greater long-time profit and security even for all who make the sacrifice. All the lobbying in Washington during the last term of Congress and the three or four plans that have recently come from groups of industrialists testify to this. The worst of it is that in every group of business men there is probably a majority which would willingly cooperate with the public for the common good, but they are too often intimidated by a noisy minority of tricksters and exploiters, and silenced by the appeal to stand by their class.

Yet some of the aims of social justice have been given voice and in part adopted. Among these were: to curb the power of the banks without destroying the credit of banking; to destroy unfair competition without creating monopolies; to make collective bargaining safe between owners and workers without giving too much power to either collectivity; to furnish purchasing power to the masses without bringing on inflation; to safeguard private debts without paralyzing further investment; to rule stock gambling rigidly without freezing legitimate capital; to make reform and recovery march hand in hand without raising too much uncertainty as to the final goal. The very moderation of this program is not one to appeal to demagogues or extremists; but moderation is of the essence of social justice as preached by the Popes, and consists in not destroying use along with the abuse, of not throwing out the baby with the bath.

It is difficult to estimate the progress made in each of these points. The reason is that by their very nature some of them are silent and unseen in their operation. It was an obvious advance to separate investment banking from commercial banking, the floating of securities from the extension of business credit and discounting of bills. But just how much power do the banks still hold over the operating of productive enterprises? It is still very great, of course; but it has been curbed by a great many laws designed to institute fair practices and just wages, thus materially decreasing the grosser profits that have accrued in the past. But the cries of "regimentation" and "uncertainty" that their clients and controlled industries have raised can be traced directly back to their obstructive influence.

In much the same way the rights of labor have pursued a crooked course. Putting the right of collective bargaining into a Federal statute was in itself an immense advance, but the revolution achieved by Section 7a

of the NIRA was overlooked in the whirl of opinions around its interpretation. Dissatisfaction with that section is mostly due to our American impatience for immediate results and that mentality which persists in looking on a piece of legislation as the final, permanent form of the program. A great deal remains to be done along this line, and it will undoubtedly be done, by the passing in the next session of Congress of some form of last session's Wagner bill. Most of the recent strikes have had the result of clarifying public opinion, so the passage of such a bill will undoubtedly be much easier. But a complete working out of all the problems in ten years would be a remarkably rapid evolution. It will go much faster if collective-bargaining laws, like 7a but clarified, are adopted in the principal industrial States. This would not seem to be a very difficult achievement, and it will bring intra-State business into the fold.

It is worthy of note that the company union is also not a permanent form of industrial organization. Industry was in a mad hurry to forestall the operation of collective bargaining by setting up unions of its own making and control. From the point of view of anti-union industry, that was probably a mistake. The movement already under foot to amalgamate all the company unions in the steel industry, if it continues unhampered and under the pressure of 7a and coming legislation, will result in some years in an industrial steel union independent of the owners. This is what happened with the railway Brotherhoods, which began as company unions.

Relief was another problem which loomed large in 1934, and will become even greater in 1935. Just how great this problem is now may be judged from the fact that in New York City alone 1,150,000 persons received a free Christmas dinner paid for from city, State, and Federal taxes. Here also is apparent the dual aim of the Administration, to make reform and recovery go hand in hand. This must be worked out in two ways: to get away from the sheer dole and devote Federal money to non-self-liquidating projects, which will not compete with the capital-goods industries; and at the same time to see to it that the industries which profit by supplying the goods needed in these projects conform to the rules of the common good. Thus the new purchasing power finding its way from Washington through labor to industry will itself be the lever by which a greater measure of social justice will be gained; and at the same time the needed relief will be handed out through work, not gifts.

Finally, the organization of industry itself, begun under NRA, started its inevitable process of overhauling. It was given a new head office, less complicated and yet more diffused in responsibility than under General Johnson, while the codes themselves remained in force. Price fixing, apparently at first a good in itself, was found to be too subject to monopolistic practices and hard on the little fellow; and it was dropped. The codes are being rearranged and weeded out. If that results in greater pliability and less bureaucracy, and a more rational re-apportionment of sections of industry so that smaller units may be freed from the domination of the larger, the

NIRA will come nearer to achieving its destined results. But the organization itself is here to stay.

The greatest lesson we learned during this year of experimentation was that social justice is neither a pre-arranged blueprint nor an automatic machine. It must be worked out laboriously by a judicious combination of

law and voluntary cooperation, with a due regard to the laws of economics, which are merely the clash of unregenerate human nature with the precepts of ethics, and through an interior transformation of man himself from a selfish animal to an enlightened and social-minded human being, animated by the principles of religion.

## The Outstanding Catholic Achievement

GERARD B. DONNELLY, S.J.

**J**UST twelve months ago in December or early January "The Sin of Norma Moran" was being exhibited by the Strand Theater on Broadway. What Norma's sin was and how sympathetically it was portrayed by the picture the reader may easily guess. Scheduled to follow was a leering comedy called "Convention City." The Paramount was running "Eight Girls in a Boat," a tear-jerker compounded of seduction and pregnancy. Roxy's had just finished a run of the rowdy "Hoopla," with Clara Bow, and the small chain houses a still rougher opus featuring Mae West. Moreover the Broadway theaters were then advertising—as current or soon-to-come—a schedule of pictures exploiting the same general subject of sex, among them "Queen Christina," "East of Fifth Ave.," "All of Me," "Easy to Love," together with a super-story glorifying a prostitute, and an all-star special feature advertised as one that would "give the women of the country a new idea of love."

Today, in the last week of December, 1934, a great and momentous change has come over the street. There are about fifty pictures being exhibited in New York City. But in all but two or three of them no grounds can be discovered for moral objection, and even in these two or three the question is debatable. Gone are the dirty jokes that fouled practically every film of 1933. Gone are the undressing scenes that touched an all-time low in "Hot Pepper." Gone are the Ostermoor philanderings of "The Smiling Lieutenant" tradition. There are no reluctant seductions, as in "Morning Glory"; no shadowgraph adulteries, as in "State Fair"; no bawdy burlesques of "The Warrior's Husband" school; no going-to-have-a-baby confessions. The current films are playing to crowded houses, but in none of them is the heroine a streetwalker, kept woman, unmarried mother, or predatory wench. Most remarkable thing of all—not one of the films persuades its audience that seduction is funny, chastity ridiculous, adultery justified by a great love, or that traditional moral convictions are outworn and false.

In brief, an almost incredible reformation is evidenced by the screen in New York and in the theaters of the nation. Even the motion pictures' bitterest enemies, who were howling for virtue only last January, are rubbing their eyes in amazement. According to the Savonarolas of 1933, about one out of every four films then being released was a corrupter of youth and a scandal to the elders—an opinion in which this Review concurred, feeling indeed that this language of observers was temperate

and the estimate conservative. Today, Hollywood entertainment is rated, even by the cautious, at about 99½ per cent pure. And full credit for this change, which was probably the speediest and profoundest moral revolution in modern industry, is to be given to the Catholic Bishops and people of the country. Within the short space of three months, from April to June last year, they cleaned the screen, and in doing so they achieved something that the whole previous opposition—the snoopers, muckrakers, women's clubs, embattled mothers, clerical commissions, and subsidized investigations, to say nothing of police, State laws, Congressional threats, and eight censorship boards—had been unable to do in more than seven years. The conversion of the Coast was, of course, the outstanding Catholic achievement of 1934.

How was the miracle wrought? The beginnings of the movement were told by AMERICA last May, and its progress reported week by week thereafter. But in this New Year issue a backward glance and summary might help the reader to see the whole picture. Here are the important dates and events. (Official action, initiated just before the New Year, had been preceded, of course, by popular Catholic protests and demonstrations in every part of the country.)

*October 1, 1933:* Archbishop Cicognani addresses the Charities Convention in New York City. In his capacity as representative of the Pope, he summons American Catholics to "a united and vigorous campaign for the purification of the screen, which has become a deadly menace to morals."

*November 16, 1933:* The nation's Bishops hold their annual conference at Washington. Spurred by the Delegate's words to take action on the film problem, they vote a national crusade, then form a four-man Episcopal Committee to direct it. Immediately following their decision, publicity preparatory to the crusade is started in the 310 Catholic newspapers and periodicals of the country.

*April 15, 1934:* The Episcopal Committee meets in Washington and launches its plan—the Legion of Decency. The pledge is published. It is proposed to enroll the 103 Catholic dioceses and their 20,000,000 Catholics. Non-Catholic churches are invited to join the drive.

*May 31:* Thirty-two dioceses have already organized; about 5,000,000 Catholics are observing the pledge.

*June 15:* Theater receipts throughout the country show an alarming drop. The Central Conference of American Rabbis urges Jews to cooperate. The Federal Council of



Churches requests all Protestants to observe the pledge.

*June 21:* Red-letter day at Cincinnati. Studio representatives meet the Bishops and discuss the question, "What do Catholics want?" The producers agree to a complete reform, promising that henceforth they will turn out only acceptable pictures. They set up the Breen office as a machinery to enforce the new moral standards. The Bishops express complete satisfaction, but state they will continue to recruit more members for the Legion as a standing army of guarantees. Peace terms are signed, and the Catholic drive for film decency is won.

*July 15:* As its first move, the new Breen office vetoes a dozen objectionable scripts ready for the cameras. It orders drastic changes in six films then in production and calls back for laundering some nine pictures already advertised and in the cans. Simultaneously a ludicrous thing happens. The country's newspapers, which have hitherto failed to mention the decency drive, suddenly display enormous interest. Not realizing that the fight is over, the campaign won, the terms signed, and the Breen office functioning, the press begins to run long daily accounts about the "Catholic current attempt to clean the screen."

*July 16:* The Breen seal (which guarantees that a picture meets all moral standards) makes its first appearance. License Number 1 is displayed by "The World Moves On." Various film critics denounce the new "censorship," holding that it will render all future film entertainment dull, puerile, unfit for human consumption. But their protests are made ridiculous by the release of "The House of Rothschild," "The Thin Man," "The Barretts of Wimpole Street."

*December 9:* In the 18,000 churches of the nation the whole Catholic population publicly renews the pledge.

So much for the history of the decency drive—an event, one should add, not without its share of blunderings, jealousies, delays, and revolts on both sides, its violent statements, often contradictory, by self-appointed spokesmen in either camp, and its inevitable army of publicity seekers and fanatical last-ditch men. These and many other entrancing details cannot be dealt with here. But some notice should be taken of the unhappy confusion created by the events of last December 9.

The New York archdiocese, which had not yet come into the Legion, began that day to administer the pledge for the first time to its Faithful and to form its local Council of lay leaders. The flattering national publicity that followed this event caused it to be badly misinterpreted. New York's action was thought to indicate a wholly new Catholic attack upon Hollywood. Catholic prelates, it was said, were dissatisfied with the functioning of the Breen office, the films were still bad, and the Church was embarking on a fresh and still more vigorous offensive.

Naturally this caused resentment as well as profanity among some of the producers. They felt betrayed. They had kept their word to the Bishops, had deliberately disappointed patrons who howled for sex stuff, had cut themselves off from a highly profitable market. Yet the Pap-

ists were not satisfied. What did they want, anyway? Wouldn't it be wiser to scrap the whole Cincinnati pact, defy the Bishops, and go back to the days of unhampered production?

What these producers forgot was that New York's action was merely the tardy fulfilment of the Bishops' original plan to enroll every diocese of the country. Yet the widespread impression that the thing was a new Church drive shook the studios, destroyed an appreciable amount of good will, and offered a serious threat to the peace existing between Catholics and the industry.

Hence, at the beginning of the new year, some emphasis should be laid upon the fact that Catholics—at least the better-informed among them—are wholly satisfied with the record maintained since last July. The Hollywood producers have kept their promises, and Catholics should be appreciative of their fine cooperation. All the new pictures of the past five months, with hardly an exception, have been morally clean and acceptable entertainment for adults; within a few more weeks—as soon as certain of the older pictures have completed their runs—there will be no need of black lists.

Moreover, while recognizing the right of each Bishop to conduct the campaign in his own way within the limits of his diocese, AMERICA regretted the extreme methods applied in some localities, and hoped that they would be modified as an evidence of united Catholic good will towards the industry. Are not prolonged and overly stringent boycotts of motion picture theaters unjustified at this time, especially since all legitimate reason for Catholic opposition has been completely removed? If Catholics had an obligation to attack the pictures financially when the pictures were bad, it would seem that they have some sort of duty to support the pictures financially, now that the pictures are clean.

Catholics are just beginning to realize how much they owe to Mr. Will Hays. While in the past his standards for the screen were not always acceptable, inasmuch as he was prone to measure morality merely by police statistics and was overly concerned with such trivialities as whether film characters might smoke cigarettes, drink liquor, and say damn, the man's complete sincerity and his efforts to disinfect the cinema should never have been questioned. During the past year, moreover, the "Czar" has shown a fine courtesy towards the Catholic reformers, and only those who know the full story can appreciate the courage he has displayed in battling for decency in the councils of the industry. Some of us have watched, too, with a great deal of interest while he has gradually abandoned the meaningless and trivial standards mentioned above and adopted instead truer and nobler concepts of cinema morality. In short, the Will Hays who promulgated the production code of 1930 has come to believe in it wholeheartedly himself, and Catholics may trust the industry as long as he continues at the helm.

If the Catholic press, like *Time*, were picking the man of the year, it would doubtless hasten to name Joseph I. Breen, the enforcing agent for the Code. Last June Mr. Breen was assigned what was probably the world's

most difficult and unpleasant job. He took his great responsibilities seriously. And although he has been attacked by both liberals and conservatives—film critics of the Left calling him a censor, a Bowdler, another chief of the Watch and Ward, while unwise and ungracious Catholics of the Right denounced him as a paid tool of the industry—he has done a fine, intelligent, and enormously difficult job. If the pictures are meeting all the moral

demands of the Bishops—and it is plain that they are—and if at the same time they have increased their values as entertainment, credit should go almost wholly to Hollywood's Keeper of the Seals. It is not improbable that with anybody else in Joseph I. Breen's job from the beginning, the Cincinnati agreement would never have worked out. Studios and Catholics would now be at bitter odds, and the drive for clean pictures a complete failure.

## Education

# The Year in Education

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CREDIT for an outstanding achievement in 1934 must go to our Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods. They made it possible for Catholic schools to keep open against tremendous odds. New heights of sacrifice were attained by them in their heroic efforts to carry on. Clergy and laity have rendered sturdy service in this battle for Catholic education, but it is to the Sisters and Brothers that we must offer homage, for without their willingness to sacrifice salaries and perquisites all efforts would have been in vain. The red ink on the ledgers of our Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods is symbolic of the life blood of those heroes and heroines of the Cross who are spending themselves in forming other Christs in every corner of our fair land. It must be that Catholic education remains a matter of conviction amongst our people, for the closing of a Catholic school is still news.

But there were thousands of Christ's little ones who received no systematic religious instruction in 1934: Catholic children in public schools, whose religious welfare was dependent on the zeal of parents or the casual instruction received in Sunday schools. Yet we are so much better off today than we were a decade ago that we may say with reasonable certainty that in 1934 we moved a few steps nearer our goal: systematic religious instruction for every Catholic child of school age. Father Edgar Schmiedeler, O.S.B., Director of the N.C.W.C. Rural Life Bureau, is authority for the statement that approximately 2,000,000 Catholic children are without the benefit of organized and systematic religious instruction. But his experience as a national organizer of religious vacation schools has made him extremely optimistic, leading him to believe that the 10,000 units caring for 250,000 children during 1934 constitute only the nucleus of a great system of religious instruction centers which will play "a providential role in the solution of this vast and weighty problem." Banner dioceses and archdioceses in 1934 were the following: St. Louis, New Orleans, San Antonio, Boise, Duluth, Galveston, Portland (Ore.), Providence, Rochester, Syracuse. From coast to coast the network spreads, second only to the parish-school system as an agency of religious instruction; compelling enough in its demands to move the seminarians of St. Paul, Minn., to serve in a dozen different dioceses, and

to scatter the Sisters of St. Benedict, of St. Joseph, Minn., over six different States.

The review would be incomplete without some reference to the activities of the diocesan superintendents of schools. The year witnessed no abatement in the movement to provide for better coordination of diocesan educational activities through delegating more power to the superintendent. There is a growing confidence in the office of the superintendent, caused in large part by the growing number and highly specialized character of service features provided for in the typical diocesan superintendent's program. In order to secure a true cross-section of educational achievements during 1934, a poll of the superintendents was conducted early in December. As determined by recurrence, it is evident that the betterment of instructional conditions was the outstanding achievement of the year. It was closely followed by ability to keep schools open, establishment or further development of diocesan teacher-training facilities, and higher teacher-training standards. We have apparently passed the "brick-and-mortar" period and are about to enter a new era where we will be concerned with quality rather than quantity. But the superintendents are thinking in terms of additional services to be rendered during this period of reorganization and consolidation, such as: how to teach religion better, ways and means of promoting Catholic Action, equalization of educational opportunity, extension of high-school facilities, organization of technical schools, and the promotion of better cooperation between the home and the school. School finance and teacher-training problems seem to dominate the superintendents' thinking. Two-thirds of the superintendents polled felt that State control of education was not on the increase, but that such extension would be a distinct menace to Catholic education.

Three dioceses, Green Bay, Manchester, and Fall River, opened summer schools for the training of teachers in 1934. The number of diocesan institutions devoted to teacher training is steadily increasing, and the older diocesan teachers' colleges, such as Cincinnati, Toledo, and Cleveland, are extending their offerings annually. Even the depression could not discourage the superintendents in the development of this phase of their work, yet it has worked havoc with teacher training in general, and 1934



is perhaps the worst year on record. Depleted community resources cut down drastically the number of Sisters attending colleges and universities on a full-time or part-time basis, at a time when a stationary elementary-school enrolment and an increase in vocations made it possible to release teachers from the classrooms. Meantime State and regional agency requirements have been raised, due to a surplus of teachers and the momentum of the teacher-certification movement, so we are now liable to lose all the ground gained during the mad scramble of the past decade for certificates and degrees. Diocesan teacher-training institutions have supplemented community facilities during these trying days, yet we must view the slowing down of our teacher-training program as one of the distinct losses of 1934. It is offset to a certain degree by the rather remarkable development of diocesan supervisory programs and the growing tendency on the part of the Sisters to accept only high-school graduates as novices.

Restriction of immigration, late marriages, small families, factors which affect Catholic as well as public schools, are largely responsible for the phenomenon of constantly decreasing enrolments in the lower grades. In time, the elementary school enrolment will become stationary, unless Catholic children now in public schools seek education under Catholic auspices. A statistical summary supplied by James E. Cummings, statistician, N.C.W.C. Department of Education, shows a loss of 17,813, or 1.5 per cent in the number of students enrolled in elementary schools for the first thirty-nine dioceses reporting in 1934. But there has been a distinct gain in high-school enrolment in practically every diocese, a condition which may be attributed to lack of opportunity for employment, extension of Catholic high-school facilities, and a greater appreciation of the value of a secondary education. The 2,200 secondary schools now operating care for 276,000 students. A number of new high schools have opened during the year, and existing institutions, like the Roman Catholic High School for Boys, Philadelphia, have rearranged

time schedules and class rosters to accommodate many more students. A new Catholic college for women, Mount St. Mary, Hookset, N. H., was opened in September under the presidency of the Most Rev. John B. Peterson. The Catholic University of America has organized a School for Social Work and a School of Scholastic Philosophy.

Approximately 100,000 students are now being cared for in 170 colleges and universities. Because of FERA allotments most of the institutions maintained normal enrolments and in some few instances increases have been reported. Over 4,000 students were enrolled in forty teacher-training institutions in 1934. The seminaries continue to maintain a normal rate of increase, ninety-three major seminaries caring for 8,000 students in 1934, and eighty-five preparatory seminaries enrolling 12,000 students. The elementary division cared for 2,200,000 pupils in 8,000 schools. The teaching corps of 84,500 employed to care for the instructional needs of 2,600,000 students was distributed as follows: elementary, 59,000; secondary, 15,000; normal, 500; college, 8,000; and seminary, 2,000.

The 1934 convention of the National Catholic Educational Association, held in Chicago at the end of June, was unique in the sense that it constituted a distinct effort to provide for frank and extended discussion of the problems of Catholic education, with the hope that such discussion would provide the basis for effective work by commissions functioning between conventions. Opinion seems to be divided with regard to the advisability of the plan, many feeling that lines of cleavage are beginning to appear, taking the direction of diverse professional interests, regional prejudices or institutional biases. The N. C. E. A. is passing through a transition period and the degree of its future influence will be largely determined by its ability to meet the exacting demands bound to be made on it by the increasing number of city, State, diocesan, and regional Catholic educational associations. The adoption of an experimental attitude in dealing with the program for the 1934 convention is an encouraging sign.

## Sociology

# Whither Society?

PHILIP H. BURKETT, S.J.

**I**T is impossible to have a healthy state of society without religion and correct moral principles. No society has ever prospered for long without them, because they are the life's blood of the organism.

Diagnosing our status of the past year, we are impressed with the fact that society is saturated with the virus of irreligion, moral indifferentism, and liberalism. The bed-rock of the natural law is shattered, and for that reason no abiding and universal norms of morality can be found to govern human relations. Material advantages outweigh the established laws and are supreme for the individual as well as the nation. Some examples are divorce, sex sterilization, and the motion-picture industry.

It was stated in the annual review of sociology some

years ago that marriage as an institution is in danger, except in the Catholic Church and some religious denominations which still admit the law of Jesus Christ. But today marriage is no longer in danger, it is gone. Undisguised lechery, so apparent in multiple divorce, does not seem to cause so much as a ripple on the placid surface of public opinion. Divorce, it is true, has decreased in the past years. So have marriages. People cannot afford to get married or to live divorced. The figures for divorce are 160,329 in the year 1932, as compared with 183,664 in 1931 and 201,468 in 1929. Reno registered 600 less in 1933 than in the preceding year. The fifty-first triennial General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, erstwhile rather partial to divorce, states in its Pastoral

Letter: "No consideration of the matter can ignore the violence that has been done to our domestic and family life by the increasing looseness in marital relations, and the scandals that are given legal sanction by certain of our courts." The Letter speaks of blighted child life, broken homes, selfish, lustful, and godless parents, sex indulgence of the people of wealth and position of marriage made unholy and akin to legalized prostitution.

Another phase of our social life that gives cause for alarm is the growing tendency in our States towards sex sterilization. This movement also clearly demonstrates that purely materialistic ideals are ruling some of our legislatures and that economic purposes have displaced the natural law.

Many pages of history have been written this year on the labor question. There has been a great hue and cry by the liberalist opponents of the New Deal. Autocracy, regimentation, Socialism, business failures, labor strikes are so many catchwords used by the advocates of the old system to point out the grave menace of the new economic policy.

The NRA, in its collective features, tends towards a decentralization of industry rather than to Government control. What may happen if recovery is not well on its way within another year, and if industrial magnates do not cooperate more sincerely and vigorously, is not easy to determine. The *mene, tekel, upharsin* of capitalism is showing more distinctly visible on the wall.

Section 7a of the Recovery Act is the great bone of contention, and bitter quarrels center around collective bargaining. Without this labor will be paralyzed. The company union, according to the A. F. L. and the Wagner-Lewis bill, must go forever if labor is to win the fight for its rights, for the company union is the impregnable wall behind which capital can carry on the war indefinitely. Then, there is the principle of majority representation for labor unions without which the employer can succeed in nullifying collective bargaining even though it is legally established. For a successful issue of this fight, it will be imperative that the legal group in our Government support the legislative and administrative branches by concerted action. The Wagner bill unfortunately failed of enactment in the last Congress.

At this writing, a middle-of-the-road policy is urged by Donald Richberg, executive director of the National Emergency Council, while Secretary Perkins, whose views are commonly understood to express the sentiments of the President, favors a "security-for-all" policy, that is, unemployment and health insurance, in the first place, then old-age pensions, and in addition, larger expenditures for public works. It is to be hoped that these and other achievements will become permanent, and a matter of ordinary industrial practice. The President referred to these gains in the armistice for the automobile dispute in March, 1934: "We have charted a new course in social engineering in the United States."

Msgr. John A. Ryan strongly deprecates the scrapping of the NRA, despite its imperfections as shown in its administration and in profiteering under the codes. He

finds strong resemblance between the occupational group system of Pius XI and the NRA trade associations. In both cases, there is a fair practice, and a certain amount of industrial autonomy. But labor participation is lacking in NRA, when drawing up the codes, and when administering them. In this sense, Msgr. Ryan adds, Pius XI is more radical than the President.

A symptom of a diseased condition is manifest in the great labor strikes. Still, there is nothing novel, or particularly alarming in this series of strikes. It is true that some of the strikes of the present year were vast in extent, the textile strike, for instance. In the issue of AMERICA for November 10, referring both to strikes and to the Government's general attitude toward the NRA, an editorial stated very aptly:

[Instead of enforcement] the Government chose a policy of backing and filling, of coming down with a heavy hand upon minor offenders, and of turning an indulgent eye when the offender was strong enough to fight back. We are now faced by the bitter results of that temporizing policy. . . . The plain fact is that our difficulties can never be solved except through men who hate mere expediency, who are utterly dissociated from political and financial jundos, and who are ruled entirely by the principles of justice and charity.

President Roosevelt's "partnership between industry, labor, and Government" as a way out of our industrial chaos, can succeed only if industry and labor are prepared to break the shackles of obsolete tradition, and if the Government wields its God-given power to effect this purpose whenever necessary.

Social insurance, mooted for long, seems now to be approaching a settlement. Not only have various States taken it up and mustered great support in its favor, but the President himself has repeatedly expressed his intention of submitting his plans at the next Congress for the enactment of a bill for unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, perhaps on the system used in Wisconsin. Of course it is harder to invent and adopt a workable system than to agree on the present imperative need of one. It remains for a just and wise legislature to name the contributors and their quota.

The number of unemployed has been variously given by Government agencies, manufacturing associations, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the A. F. of L. It would seem that 13,609,000 in March, 1933, is a conservative estimate of the peak of unemployment in our present depression. President Green recently affirmed that we had approximately 500,000 more unemployed in November, 1933, than in the previous year. Are we getting out of the depression?

It is inspiring to witness the steady unfolding of Christ's charity and justice as manifested in the annual gatherings of Catholic Charities. The Cincinnati national meeting, which over 2,000 delegates attended, placed the twentieth monument of glorious achievement that the conference has erected in trekking laboriously across the vast expanse of our country. "Social Justice" was sounded at the convention as the keynote to which all Catholic charities are asked to tune their endeavors for the next twelve months. The *Catholic Charities Review*, official



organ of the National Conference, maintains close contact with the charity work throughout the country.

The workers in the Negro race are bitterly disappointed in the apathy shown by their spokesmen in the critical problems that confront the Negro laborer. Leadership is entirely lacking among them. For this reason radicals find an easy approach and a sympathetic audience for Communist propaganda.

In our national crime record we find no improvement. We are growing callous. AMERICA has for years pointed to our criminal procedure and administration, to our faulty prison management, to our Godless education and false philosophy of life, and to our inert government as so many leading causes which make our nation the most lawless in the world. No other explanations are adequate. The President made an address to a crime conference called December 10, in which he stressed coordination, administration and a backing of public opinion and knowledge of crime conditions.

The picture of the year may be dark; but we must not overlook the silver lining that is quite manifest. Under a great leader who recently received a most striking political endorsement at the polls and with a strong Congress we may look forward with great hope to better industrial conditions. Capitalism and its cohorts are trained fighters and will die hard. Liberalism has held the field for many years and it will take some time to dislodge its forces. Under theegis of Catholic teaching, which is receiving a more willing ear among high and low, we are confident of emerging in the near future from the impending chaos and disaster.

### LAMENT

Song, let me rest!  
I shall not sing today.  
Though all the pain of life should melt in joy  
And all the tears of mothers' weeping  
And all the hunger of the poor,  
The desolation of the faithless,  
And the agony of failure were to cease  
In one loud cry  
Of sweet release from woe,  
I shall be mute . . .  
Indifference to bitterness, to sweet,  
To love, to loss, to self, to all the world  
Is such a sullen as am I.  
I shall not sing . . .  
Why, if the strings of every lute  
Are warped and out of tune,  
Or broken,—as all are,—  
How shall there be a song for singing?  
What's more, seven thousand songsters  
In the past, now, in the years to be  
Will sing, are singing, or have played  
And sung this selfsame theme  
Far sweeter than could I . . .  
Hear Sappho lilting to a pulsing breeze  
A threnody commingled with Alighieri's chant divine,  
And Virgil, singing of the bees, one heart  
At one with frail Lizette hymning the spicewood . . .  
Could I, should I vie with these?  
Song, let me rest!  
I cannot sing.

R. F. GRADY, S.J.

### Literature

## Catholic Literature Emergence of the Year

FRANCIS TALBOT, S.J.

THE auditor of the pipe and metal fixtures company whom I met on the railroad diner, the manufacturer of stockings who invited me to a Christmas call, the first vice-president of a steel corporation whom a friend of mine knows intimately, the young lawyer who has been starving for three years, the clerk at the chemists where I buy tooth paste and alarm clocks, the letter carrier and the policeman and the truck driver have all had the crescents of their mouths pointed upwards instead of downwards as the year closed. Now, though it may not be believed, the book publishers and the book dealers have admitted that their businesses are not on the verge of bankruptcy, the story which they have been retelling during the past few years. Authors have actually begun to receive royalties on their books; one, in particular, told me that his royalties had risen 300 per cent in the last over the previous accounting, so that he received \$33.33½ on his 1933 book. The optimism that wreathes all other and the book industries communicates itself to me in the survey of Catholic literature during the year now ended.

It was in April, as I once related, when the sun emerged from the clouds and we were emerging from a wasteland of the Bronx that the word *emergence* first occurred to me in reference to Catholic literature. Any term prefixed by "re" did not apply to Catholic literature, certainly not in the United States, most probably not in England, and not so much on the Continent. Thus, our transitional literary stage is not a revival or a renaissance or a resurgence. American Catholic literature of our period is an emergence and in the next generation will be a surge. During 1934, the emergence of Catholicism through the medium of literature has been notable and is auspicious.

If I must repine, it is not about authors, nor about publishers, nor about dealers, nor about literary agencies; it is about Catholic readers. During the year, I have listened to otherwise up-to-date people complaining in the fashion of two or three decades ago that we have not a real, distinctive, and artistic Catholic literature. They will not open their eyes to the new titles and authors and they close their minds down on old prejudices. They will not read about new literary projects, nor support them. They are firmly convinced that they are doing charity or exercising extraordinary zeal if they buy a book known to be touched by Catholicism. They are wary of being taken in by any book recommended by Catholic critics or advertised by Catholic sources. The leaders in the Catholic literary emergence have gone far ahead. The people have not been followers, in any great numbers. They have not read Catholic books, they have not bought Catholic books, they have not been interested in Catholic literature. That is the flaw, continued in 1934, of the Catholic literary picture.

And now, when somebody is most surely awaking to

ask the question: "Why should we be crying out for a Catholic literature?" I have no strength to reply again. Critics and lecturers have been answering the question for years, so continually that it has become phonographic. It is no longer a bright and witty question, no longer an incisive question going right to the heart of the matter. The question has been answered so very conclusively and so very frequently that only people just awaking ever ask it any more.

The agencies dedicated to the apostolate of Catholic books, and of other books that do not offend Catholics, are, it seems to be, well coordinated and functioning admirably. Covering the largest sphere is the Cardinal Hayes Literature Committee under the efficient direction of Msgr. Arthur J. Scanlan. Four times each year, the Committee issues *The Book Survey*, in which are listed the worth-while books, for Catholics, in each quarter. In the September booklet were named and briefly characterized 104 titles; in the December, the fifteenth series, 118 books were listed. The qualifications for inclusion are succinctly stated: (1) the book must be worthy of a mature intelligence; (2) it must not offend the Christian sense of truth or decency; (3) it must bear the marks of good literary craftsmanship. For a current digest of the book publications of the year, the Catholic reader need not seek beyond "The Book Survey."

A new department was added during the year to the *Catholic Library World*, edited by John M. O'Loughlin. Each month is listed, with that accuracy inherent in the make-up of librarians, all the Catholic publications of the month. It is a check list, with a sentence or two explaining the contents, that is valuable for the record and of great service to readers no less than to librarians. In December, 1934, the *Newsletter* of the Catholic Book Club reached its seventy-fifth number. This four-page paper recommends each month the half-dozen or dozen Catholic books that should be of interest to the more intelligent Catholic reader. In September of this year, the newly organized Spiritual Book Associates began their monthly *Survey of Current Catholic Literature*. This bulletin specializes in the better religious literature, and surprises one with the delightful and important discoveries it makes in the department of newly published ascetical, doctrinal, and devotional books.

Then, in the matter of reader guidance I see a vast improvement in the book-review sections of the Catholic periodicals. Nearest to home is that which follows in the next columns, wherein Father Gerard B. Donnelly expresses his taste and ingenuity. It is my personal opinion that the *Commonweal*, the *Catholic World*, the *Ave Maria*, the *Sign* and other periodicals, with a few exceptions, of course, have all been more vital and more incisive and more inclusive in their reviews during this past year. Even the ultra-scholarly *Thought* has impressed me as being better in its book section! The diocesan weeklies, on the word of Thomas F. Meehan, our octogenarian editor who reads and has read them all for many years, have, on the whole, given more space to better book reviews, as if by editorial policy, during the year just ended.

The conclusion is quite obvious. The appearance of a Catholic book is now heralded in hundreds of bulletins, magazines, periodicals, and papers. The quality of the book is well judged. And yet, a large portion of the Catholic readers remain ignorant of the books and the majority would never think of reading, much less purchasing, the book. I insist on the contention that the chief drag on the Catholic literary emergence is the lack of interest of the Catholic populace who should be reading Catholic literature.

In the oral and visual agitation for Catholicism in literature, the year has been fruitful. The pioneer activity was the Rocky Mountain Catholic Literature Congress which took place in November, 1933, and made manifest the possibilities of gathering Catholic writers together and exhibiting their books. In April, the Catholic Book Club Literature Conference drew large audiences to its three-day sessions and amazed thousands by its displays of books, manuscripts, and autographs. The interest aroused by these conferences did more than can be calculated in statistics for Catholic literature. All through the year, local exhibits were arranged in diverse places and there were prospects of larger civic and State conferences being held during the coming year. Of notable moment was the first Catholic Writers Week arranged in New York by the Catholic Writers Guild of America.

Springing out of the Catholic Book Club Conference was a new organization calling itself the Intercollegiate Catholic Literature Conference. Its membership was drawn from the fifteen colleges of the metropolitan New York area, which had allied themselves for the discussion and furtherance of Catholic literature. The avowed aim of the Conference is that of producing authors as well as that of producing readers. It speaks well for the next generation of Catholic literary leaders.

Still other signs of literary life are pulsating in the lecture activities. During 1934, the French authors were prominent; there was Jacques Maritain lecturing in Chicago and New York to large, cultured and influential audiences; there was Etienne Gilson attracting the élite; and Abbé Dimnet delighting his hearers with his keen wit and charm. In prospect for the new year are the English authors; all signs point to the coming of Hilaire Belloc, after a long absence; the novelist, Sheila Kaye-Smith has already been booked for Catholic audiences under the agency of the Lecture League, established this year as a point of contact between speakers and listeners; and Father M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., under the same auspices of the Lecture League, will make his first appearances in the United States. Once again, from these instances, the point may be drawn that the creators of Catholic literary activity are busy; but cooperation, which is absolutely essential for the Catholic emergence, is lagging.

An exception must be made. During 1934, the Catholic Poetry Society of America so progressed that it can announce itself as having the largest membership of all poetry societies in the United States. In March, it issued the first number of its bi-monthly magazine of verse, *Spirit*, edited by John Gilland Brunini. Objectively con-



sidered, *Spirit* is the best poetry magazine in the country. In the six issues that comprise the first volume, now being completed in January, in addition to editorials, articles and book-reviews, it published 250 poems written by 136 different poets residing in thirty States and three foreign countries. Whether because of its inspiration or not, I do not know, but an extraordinarily large number of books of poetry by Catholics were published.

In book publications, it could be easily demonstrated and proved that a larger number of major works by major Catholic artists were issued in 1934 than in any other single year of our American Catholic history. The fullness and the richness are shown in the Catholic publishers' catalogues, in the titles appearing in the catalogues of the non-Catholic publishers, in such lists as that prepared by Father Donnelly in our issue of December 8. To me, through my connection with the Catholic Book Club and the Spiritual Book Associates, the abundance and the high quality of current literature was made manifest through the quandaries of the Editorial Boards, not in finding books for selection but in making choices between almost equal contenders. It is too late in this survey now to mention the more notable volumes, but in practically every department of literature there were outstanding books that will be remembered for many a year.

Autobiography and biography yielded the greatest harvest, with such volumes as Cardinal O'Connell's "Recollections of Seventy Years," Maisie Ward's "The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition," Mrs. Chanler's "Roman Spring," Mrs. Elliott's "My Cousin, F. Marion Crawford," Dr. Sutherland's "A Time to Keep," Belloc's "Cromwell," Phillips' "Paderewski," Ghéon's "Secret of the Little Flower" and "In Search of Mozart," Mme. Undset's "Stages on the Road," and "Saga of Saints." These are but a few indications. History was rewritten from the Catholic viewpoint in more than two-dozen authoritative and superior contributions. Catholic philosophy became a matter of importance to many non-Catholic thinkers because of the striking works in this department, and Catholic apologetics was more vigorously propounded. Catholic fiction made long strides forward, but resurrected old problems, as in "Gates of Hell" by von Kuhnelt-Leddihn, and in "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh," by Franz Werfel, and in Maurice Baring's "The Lonely Lady of Dulwich." But there was variety in Catholic fiction during the year, and there was strength and maturity, and estimable art in it. Even in dramatic literature there have been such successes, as Emmet Lavery's "The First Legion," which has enjoyed more than one hundred Broadway nights and is now published, and as Violet Clifton's lyrical "Sanctity."

Our authors made 1934 notable. They will surpass their record in 1935. Our literary publicists and agencies have ventured further and aspired higher. The Catholic and general publishers have competed more vigorously, than heretofore, to secure works by Catholics. The makers of Catholic literature are pressing forward eagerly, triumphantly. They look for support and cooperation from the Catholic reading public.

## A Review of Current Books

### A Critic of Higher Education

*AT WAR WITH ACADEMIC TRADITIONS IN AMERICA.*  
By A. Lawrence Lowell. Harvard University Press. \$4.00.

COMING in the wake of flippant caricatures and dyspeptic tirades, Lowell's book is quietly relieving. Not many men have Lowell's right to criticize higher education. From the purely academic side few have thought about it so boldly and so soundly; fewer still, given opportunities, have worked so constructively to remedy the havoc wrought in the names of democracy and freedom and breadth. Yet the book is disappointing. The inherent weaknesses of all collections are aggravated by the number of brief excerpts from articles, addresses, and reports, which repeat distressingly or have little direct relation to his central theme.

If this book is a record of "war," Abraham Flexner's *Universities* reports a cataclysmic carnage. For almost half a century Lowell's criticism has been consistently tempered and constructive. Had it not been so, another would have directed the destinies of Harvard from 1909 to 1933. Men are reluctant to place precious things on the blacksmith's anvil. The success of his method is found in the Harvard of Conant. With "traditions" Harvard's President Emeritus has no quarrel. His attack is clearly upon the smattering superficiality and the mechanistic measures of learning which necessarily followed from the now-discredited free-elective system of his predecessor, Harvard's own Eliot. Had leftist Norman Woelfel included Lowell among his *Moulders of the American Mind*, one would almost certainly find him with Horne in the dwindling group of "traditionalists."

The value, the process, and the product of liberal education have been Lowell's great preoccupations. The true basis of culture is "to know a little of everything and everything of something," with special emphasis on the latter element. Liberal learning is primarily the "developing of the mental powers with a view to their use in any subsequent career." How strangely familiar these words sound to the Catholic educator! Lowell is almost bold enough to base college education on the principle of reasonable transfer. Few of the leaders today would be so rash. Lowell's graduate leaves his college with a "trained mind," with "habits of intellectual application," and with a "firm grasp of principles derived from the penetrating study of some branch of knowledge." Shades of the junior-college finishing function! For Lowell liberal education goes far beyond the current "little of everything" theory which results too often in filling the mind with what resembles the "contents of the incinerator." Here is food for thought on the part of America's well-instructed but uneducated leaders who have relegated liberal learning to the secondary level and read with pious satisfaction the obsequies of the four-year college.

The main defects of American collegiate education Lowell finds radicated in the mechanized measures of credits and courses and degrees. All these are the inevitable camp followers, circumspcctly admitted as such by the author, of the free-elective system. Diversity of individual college programs demanded the use of "symbols" for work covered and precluded use of the two great incentives to scholarly application, wholesome competition (simply emulation) and comprehensive examinations. There is stern condemnation of painless educators who think liberal education can be achieved without "strenuous effort carried by moral force beyond the limit of mere enjoyment." Throughout, the author exemplifies his principles by what has been done at Harvard. He does not hesitate to express his high regard for Oxford and Cambridge. At their doors he places much credit for his own solutions. His ideas concerning creative scholarship are epitomized in the crowning achievement, the Society of Fellows.

At his last Commencement, Lowell speaks of Harvard's com-

fortable financial situation, and attributes the fact to her Overseers reading the Bible and knowing the greatest business man recorded in history. This was Joseph of Egypt, who, in the years of plenty, laid by a store for the lean years to follow. There is little evidence that either Harvard's Overseers or Harvard's President Emeritus have been conscious of any other biblical character. It is possible that Lowell has tried to do the impossible, divorce religion from liberal education or at least prescind from it. One wonders what would be the reactions of the Puritan hearts of the Pilgrim Fathers and John Harvard in reading the epitome of Harvard's ideals without finding even a slight reference to God or religion.

WILFRED M. MALLON.

### Father of the Poor

*THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SAINT VINCENT DE PAUL. Vol. 1. By Pierre Coste, C.M. Translated from the French by Joseph Leonard, C.M. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 21/.*

VINCENT DE PAUL, the "great Saint of a noble century," was born of peasant stock and in early youth tended his father's cattle. It does not appear that he was predestined to a life of extraordinary sanctity, inasmuch as his youthful ambitions as a priest were for a comfortable benefice which would enable him to support his family and relatives. Even after a trying experience as a captive slave in Tunis these dreams of worldly success were not entirely dispelled. An interior trial, the struggle to maintain faith in God purified his soul. Worn out by doubts about religion, he wrote out the articles of the Creed and placed the sheet of paper next his heart; he then covenanted with God that as often as he should place his hand on his heart, this gesture was to be taken as an act of faith. Furthermore, he took a resolution to serve Our Lord in His poor and forthwith began to visit the sick in the charity hospital close to which he resided. It was all in vain. After three or four years of unspeakable mental anguish, he made a promise to God to consecrate the rest of his life to the service of the poor. The taking of this resolution immediately banished the temptation and that forever. From this point forward his progress in virtue was continuous. Touched by the misery and vice in country districts, where the poor were utterly neglected, Vincent de Paul determined that his vocation was to form a congregation of priests to minister to the spiritual needs of these abandoned sheep of Christ's flock. His labors began in the village of Clichy. Teaching the catechism to children, succoring the needy, consoling the sick, reconciling those at variance, he made himself all things to all men to gain all to Christ. His spiritual director, Father de Bérulle, summoned him from this parish to accept an appointment as tutor to the son of Philip Emmanuel de Gondi, General of the Galleys. But he soon obtained leave of absence to work in the parish of Chatillon-Les-Dombes, where he founded the first Confraternity of Charity. The efficacy of the Confraternity was soon severely tested by the double scourge of famine and pestilence.

This first volume of Vincent de Paul's biography happily includes the story of the life of Mlle. Le Gras (Louise de Marillac) and the foundation of the Daughters of Charity, whose houses have spread all over the world. It also contains the history of the Congregation of the Mission, its organization, rules, customs, vows, and early foundations. In spite of multiple currents in the Saint's career, Father Pierre Coste keeps the main tide of the story in perfect control. It is as superb a piece of hagiographical writing as has been undertaken in this generation. As such it well deserved the crown of merit of the French Academy as well as the golden tribute bestowed upon the original French edition by an admiring reviewer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The translation by Father Leonard is expressed in an attractive, luminous, and scholarly prose style. The publication of the next two volumes in English will be awaited with deep interest.

JOSEPH FRANCIS THORNING.

### Fiction as Experience

*MODERN FICTION. By Dorothy Brewster and Angus Burrell. Columbia University Press. \$2.75. Published December 1.*

THE authors have made a valuable contribution to the literature of criticism: a constructive and entertaining book, intended for the intelligent reader of fiction who has had to depend too often upon the columnist-critic for his evaluation of the modern novel. Fiction, they assert, is an experience. The reader, therefore, should first of all understand himself, his own personality, with the forces which have influenced its growth and the intimate character-traits which determine his reaction to life. Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*, then, will not merely depress or exalt him, but he will judge the work objectively. The nurse who read Henry James' *The Ambassadors* in the psychopathic ward of a hospital would have realized, had she been the author's ideal reader, that the circumstances of her reading had determined her opinion that the book was trivial. Again, the reader should understand the writer's perspective, know why he reacted to life in this way, and no other; the combination produces a reader who realizes how fiction, as an experience, affects him personally, and will accordingly read intelligently, enjoy his reading, and be capable of prescribing for himself the type of fiction he requires for a given mood.

The stream-of-consciousness novel, the reveries of Thomas Mann, Proust's memories, the straightforward "proletarian novel," are all lucidly discussed in the light of the principles explained in the first chapter, and the reader will at least feel firm ground under his feet after reading the chapters on James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, whether or not he agrees with the authors on the significance of these writers' work. Such writers as Dostoevsky, the authors note, who sometimes impress the general reader as "gloomy Russians," are merely treating as entirely conscious those mental struggles and particularly those traits of personality which in reality are too deep-seated to be clearly recognized or to act directly, without the many veils of which Dostoevsky strips them. The method is a legitimate one, even though an Ivan Karamazov never really exists. The American indifference to the novellette is discussed with mild reproach, though the authors seem to underemphasize the essential difference between this form and the novel, and the one in which lies the real power of the novellette, namely, its close unity and singleness of focus, which the novel, whose length is a secondary matter, lacks by reason of its construction.

In brief, the book is one to be recommended to any interested reader of good fiction; negatively, the book might be charged with being non-representative, but the fault is a minor one, since the aim of the authors is not criticism, but instruction, not evaluation of the writers discussed, but the presentation of sound ideas on how to read them, and in this aim they have succeeded admirably.

MALCOLM L. STEWART.

### Shorter Review

*IN THE STEPS OF THE MASTER. By H. V. Morton. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$3.00. Published November 28.*

SO long as the love of Christ continues to burn brightly in the hearts of Christians, Palestine will remain the most alluring country on earth, drawing thousands annually to its barren hills. Yet they are the privileged few who can make the journey to the Holy Land; the vast majority must let their imagination reconstruct for them the scenery and atmosphere of the Saviour's native land. For many this is no easy task. Hence a book that sharply stimulates the imagination and enables it to picture correctly Palestine's fields and mountains and that interprets sympathetically the habits and manners of the Orient is bound to be of permanent value.

Mr. Morton offers the public such a volume. In a series of vigorous sketches and instructive anecdotes he illustrates many of the scenes of Gospel history and introduces the reader to every



group of Palestine's diversified population. Repeatedly the hands of time are pushed back nineteen centuries and the gentle figure of Our Divine Lord moves in familiar surroundings. We feel ourselves brought into His Divine presence and we hear Him speak to us.

We are guided as a matter of course to the Christian shrines, but also to Moslem mosques and Jewish synagogues. We chat familiarly with Bethlehem peasants, Judean shepherds, and Galilean fishermen. We are also brought to such unusual places as the tunnel of Hezekiah, to a Bedouin tribal court in full session, to an eery crusading castle, and the fairyland of Petra.

The book abounds in pleasant surprises: curious mosaics of human piety and frailty, clear-cut miniatures of native simplicity and duplicity, flashes of wit and dashes of tenderness, a canny treatment of conflicting racial views and religious privileges, and a kindly interpretation of festal practices and ceremonies. Much valuable information is imparted in so casual a manner, that only a biblical scholar fully appreciates its accuracy and appropriateness.

H. W.

### Recent Non-Fiction

**NEW FEDERAL ORGANIZATIONS.** By Laurence F. Schmeckebier. The student of public affairs will find this book invaluable in understanding the activities of the Administration. The author has listed all the Federal organizations created by act of Congress or by executive order between March 4, 1933, and June 30, 1934. They are first classified by activities and duration, by purpose, and by method of creation. Later each is treated more fully, arranged by groups: loans and insurance, labor relations, economic emergency organizations, co-ordinating and planning organizations, etc. The book is concise and complete, presenting the essential facts. (Brookings Institution, Washington. \$1.50.)

**TRIGGEROMETRY.** By Eugene Cunningham. This "gallery of gunfighters" contains seventeen biographical sketches of men who could and did "slap leather" with the best. Sixteen are from the old and wild West; the other is Lee Christmas, the "Ole Man Army Corps," whose battleground was Central America. These men were on both sides of the law, and some on the shadowy line between; but all of them were prone to take the law into their own hands. Billy the Kid, Billy Breakenridge, John Wesley Hardin, Bass Outlaw, Wild Bill Hickok, John Slaughter—these are some of the men presented. Mr. Cunningham writes of all of them sympathetically, yet critically. He has tried to take them out of what he calls the distorted proportions blurring their true stature and make them human and understandable. He has succeeded in his aim, and does it excitingly and convincingly. (New York: Press of the Pincoers. \$3.75.)

**DREAMTHORP.** By Alexander Smith. The author's old-fashioned, cadenced sentences deal with a variety of topics ranging from a charming essay "On the Writing of Essays" to "Geoffrey Chaucer." His erudition devoid of pedantry, enhances the critical acumen of his observations on men and books. The paper on "Death and the Fear of Dying," with its closely knit thinking and quiet irony, concludes that life is immeasurably heightened by death. But *Dreamthorp* is no morbid work. Alexander Smith's reflections, expressed in a manner reminiscent of Lamb, serve to transport one into the realm of ideas. (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50)

**SANCTITY.** By Violet Clifton. An heroic play in five acts dealing with Elizabeth of Hungary, the woman, the mystic, and the Saint. The allegorical note predominates. In a well-devised plot the dramatist traces the development and eventual perfection of Elizabeth's spiritual life, ensnared at times amidst the fawning court life of the period. The result is a beautiful and unusual treatment of a Saint's life. Violet Clifton's twenty years of contemplation of the figure of Elizabeth has produced a worthwhile play, authentic in subject matter, and capable of being produced in amateur circles. (Sheed and Ward. \$1.50)

## Communications

*Letters to ensure publication should not, as a rule, exceed 500 words. The editors are not responsible for opinions expressed in this department. No attention will be paid to anonymous communications.*

### Demands the News

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The Detroit Catholic Students Conference with 900 assembled delegates representing all Catholic institutions of higher learning and secondary schools of the district of Detroit find that the Hearst chain of twenty-seven newspapers and their two news services have consistently ignored the news of the Catholic persecution in Mexico.

Inasmuch as the Hearst chain gets its greatest circulation in the cities where Catholics are concentrated, we are calling upon all sodalists of universities, colleges and high schools through the columns of AMERICA to protest this exclusion of Mexican news from the columns of that chain of papers. We also ask the Editor of AMERICA to use similar influence to see that the Associated and United Press and feature writers of metropolitan dailies give us the real news of the atrocities south of the Rio Grande such as have appeared in the news magazine, *Time*.

CHARLES ORIN MILLER,  
Detroit.  
President College Section D. C. S. C.

### Romance of the Floridas

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I see that Father Laurence Kenny, S.J., denies Florida the right to our first native-born priest because "Florida was under the flag of Spain until 1819"; and he pleads for the doubtful claims of Puerto Rico. The question proposed by Mr. Meehan was, who was the first priest born within the present United States territory, and obviously within its continental limits. If Florida and St. Augustine were not United States territory until 1819, neither was Maryland until 1788, nor any of the original thirteen States before 1787, and certainly not before 1776. It was only a few years before 1819 that the whole Middle West from the Gulf to the Great Lakes became United States territory, and it was long after that our Western States reached that distinction. Do they fail to be United States territory for that reason?

Our schools that Father Kenny finds fault with for proclaiming St. Augustine, Fla., our "oldest permanent white settlement" are happily free of the inferiority complex that deems English origin essential for American qualification; and it grieves me that such a fine representative of the Kenny name should be tinged with it. Our most authentic historians are not. Father Laurence will find, I hope, in "The Romance of the Floridas" (Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee), a reduced copy of a ten-foot map, prepared by Colonel Martin, of the Library of Congress, and Dr. James A. Robertson, which marks the countless Spanish settlements and missions in our territory from coast to coast and from the Gulf to nearly our northern limits, and is inscribed: "Debt of the United States to Spain for the exploration, colonization, and introduction of Spanish Culture from 1492-1800." The appendix to "The Romance of the Floridas" shows that several other scientific historians, including Lowery, Bolton, and Bourne, clearly acknowledge the Spanish Catholic foundations as an essential constituent of the United States, territorially as well as culturally.

If, however, previous English possession is a requisite qualification, Florida has it. England had as much possession of the whole Florida regions to the Mississippi, as she ever did of the thirteen colonies, from 1763 to 1783, when Governor Galvez re-conquered it for Spain and thereby helped us considerably to secure independence. This he effected mainly with two Hibernian regiments

whose Irish chaplains with other Irish priests from Salamanca were the pastors and the missionaries in ancient Catholic centers from St. Augustine to Natchez and when the Spaniards went, remained as United States citizens. Perhaps this will help to settle your correspondent's doubts that Florida is truly American, and Father Francisco de Florencia, born in St. Augustine, 1619, was the first native priest of United States territory.

Mobile, Ala.

MICHAEL KENNY, S.J.

### Altar Speed

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Like Mr. McDuffie, I feel somewhat reticent about expressing myself openly on account of my comparatively recent reception into the Church (eighteen months ago). I hope, however, that others will realize that his remarks and mine are motivated by only one purpose—namely, to make the road easier for future converts.

With good reason, I think, Mr. McDuffie objects to the break-neck speed with which prayers are recited in the Church. Even after eighteen months it is still impossible for me to keep up with a congregation reciting the Rosary. Again, many priests recite the prayers of the Mass faster than I can read them silently. No wonder the average Catholic has the attitude, "I might as well get up early and get it over with." . . . Is it any wonder, then, that appeals for a more earnest devotional life fall on deaf ears when the principal form of devotion is treated apparently without proper regard for its true significance?

What is the effect upon non-Catholic America? We point with just pride to the intellectual converts, but are we reaching the great mass of potential converts? I fear not, and the cause does not lie entirely in prejudice. While the intellectual overlooks superficial defects and turns his attention to fundamental questions, most people lose all interest in the Catholic viewpoint at the first suspicion of insincerity. Consider the non-Catholic who has heard all about the Mass, that Catholics look upon it as the renewal of the Sacrifice of Calvary and as the most solemn and awful of all acts of worship. Imagine the rude jolt he receives upon attending his first Mass if he hears prayers recited at a speed that would put even Floyd Gibbons to shame. "Well," he thinks, "if Catholics have so little respect for what they regard as the highest form of devotion, I'm not at all interested in considering any other phase of their religion."

First impressions are the most enduring. Most non-Catholics get their first impressions of the Catholic Church by attending Mass. Am I exaggerating, then, when I state that one of the chief obstacles to the conversion of non-Catholic America is the apparently careless and perfunctory manner in which the Mass is often celebrated?

Joliet, Ill.

FRANKLIN C. SMITH, PH.D.

### Thanks

To the Editor of AMERICA:

This is a very tardy acknowledgment of the favor you did us by publishing an appeal for spiritual books, and sending us a few such books yourself. We have no mail service and so your package of books and those sent by friends in answer to your kind appeal did not arrive here till the first part of August. For the same reason I was not able to acknowledge them more promptly.

I did not see the appeal that you printed in AMERICA on our behalf; but one of the friends who responded with a package of books mentioned the appeal. I received seventy-six books and some pamphlets. Most of the books were just what we wanted, and hardly any of them were duplicates of any book that we already had or received by this same mail. May our dear Lord reward you and your generous readers for the help you have thus given us. And we on our part will try to show our appreciation not merely by these few lines of thanks, but by our prayers.

The native Sisters are getting along nicely, though three of them have already passed to a better life to transplant our small

community to that heavenly country. They were all young, and excellent subjects, and we were surely very sorry to lose them. But the dear Lord Who knows best has already given us five new novices to replace those that He took from us. School is reopening and some of the Sisters will have to go out to our different stations to do active work in the vineyard of the Lord. They are very capable and anxious to bring souls to God; so we are hoping for big things from them. And you as well as the kind friends whom you interested in us will share in the fruits of their labors.

Hooper Bay, Alaska.

JOHN P. FOX, S.J.

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Throughout the year 1934 several readers of AMERICA have very kindly sent me packets of magazines and papers which I have distributed among our young people here and the sailors of the boats that call at the port. I am deeply grateful for this generous help and I would be very glad if you could find space in a coming issue of AMERICA to express my thanks. I would like to add that 654 boys and girls of Castries recently offered a Holy Communion for the benefactors and benefactresses of our young people.

Castries, St. Lucia, B. W. I.

C. JESSE.

### Mr. Richberg's Human Rights

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Here is one reader who thanks you for calling attention to Mr. Richberg's views of property and other rights, as disclosed in his article in the *New York Times Magazine* of November 18. Mr. Richberg's theory seems to be that rights are merely creations of whatever "laws" may be passed, by whatever law-makers may have secured the power to pass "laws." This reader wonders how many other readers will note that these views are precisely those of Messrs. Lenin, Trotzky, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Plutarco Calles, Huey Long, and of the Congressmen who rubber-stamped the New Deal laws of the last session. They are, of course, precisely opposite to the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

This was the precise theory of such business men and bankers who years ago procured the enactment of "liberal" corporation and banking laws, and operated under these laws to the destruction of their new era. It was precisely the theory of those who engineered the RFC as a means of socializing bank losses. Yet these same men now tremble at the demand for socialization of bank profits—if, as, and when there are any.

It is precisely the theory of many business men who under NIRA have drawn up codes of "fair competition" which have "the force of law," but which legislate price fixing, production control, and other denials of what our Supreme Court has heretofore ruled to be inherent rights of business men and consumers, which our former law-makers could not infringe with impunity. It seems quite illogical for some of these business codifiers to object to Huey Long's recently enacted Louisiana "laws" which are all in accord with the same principles which so many codifiers embody in their codes. . . .

Once "politicos" of the Huey Long type succeed in grasping the "law" making power, it would take no prophet to predict very short shrift for the "rights" of many New Dealers who have so well prepared the way for Huey Long's newer deal. And, of course, the innocent will suffer along with them.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

ERNEST F. DUBRUL.

### Modern Latin

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In the issue of AMERICA for December 8, I read the letter of a certain "Ignotus" inquiring about books dealing with Latin from a practical standpoint. Having read the *Auxilium Latinum*, I recommend it as a publication dealing with modern Latin. Its address is: Box 54, P. O. Station S, Brooklyn, N. Y.

I have other material in reference to football, basketball, and tennis phraseology in Latin at the disposal of the inquirer.

Dayton, Ohio.

JOSEPH J. TRUEZ, S.M.



## Chronicle of 1934

### HOME NEWS

**Legislative and Administrative.**—In the regular session of Congress (January 3 to June 18) two monetary bills were passed, one authorizing the President to reduce the gold weight of the dollar, the other increasing the use of silver in monetary stocks. A Federal Housing Administration was established to stimulate and assist home renovation and construction. This later caused some friction with the PWA, but the matter was smoothed over by the President. A Federal Communications Commission was created to control transmission by telephone, telegraph, wireless, and cable, and to investigate the necessity for further legislation. A Senate investigation of munitions manufacturers contained many sensational disclosures of the methods of operation of many companies, use of graft in securing business, fostering of a warlike spirit, etc. In December, President Roosevelt appointed a committee (including Bernard M. Baruch and General Johnson) to draft legislation to "take the profit out of war." The Tydings-McDuffie bill was passed, giving independence to the Philippine Islands in ten to twelve years. The Senate rejected the St. Lawrence seaway treaty in March, but there were indications that the President would present it at the next session. Early in the year the Post Office Department annulled all domestic airmail contracts, charging that they had been obtained by collusion, and for a short time the Army flew the mail. This aroused considerable criticism, which was increased by the death of several Army fliers, due to bad flying conditions, inadequate equipment, etc. After an investigation, the private operators were permitted to handle the airmail on a revised basis. The November elections recorded an overwhelming victory for the Democrats, one that was considered unprecedented in an off-year. It was deemed a personal triumph for President Roosevelt, as his policies seemed to have been the only point at issue in the campaign. The Democrats gained nine seats in the Senate, and thirteen in the House. In Wisconsin the newly re-organized Progressive party swept the State. Liberal Republicans, led by Senator Borah, demanded a reorganization of that party. During the year the President appointed several committees to chart legislation for social and economic betterment. In July he appointed a National Power Policy Committee to study the power problem. Late in the year the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and other business and industrial organizations pledged their cooperation to the President. Secretary of the Treasury Woodin, who had resigned on January 1 because of ill health, died on May 3. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in his stead.

**Recovery Program.**—The recovery drive was seriously hampered by the severe drought that struck the nation and the country-wide series of strikes. The number of unemployed did not greatly diminish, if it did at

all, during the year. In October, there were 4,161,006 families on relief, as against 3,010,516 families in October of 1933, but November this year showed a much smaller increase than last year. The drought affected twenty-four States, comprising sixty per cent of the area of the United States, with an estimated loss of \$5,000,000,000. Labor's dissatisfaction with the administration of Section 7a of NIRA (the collective-bargaining clause) provoked many strikes. In the East, coal miners and textile workers went on strike. In the Middle West automobile workers and truck drivers struck in protest, and on the Pacific Coast a longshoremen's strike spread up and down the coast from San Francisco and developed into a general strike. National Guardsmen were called out in many localities to preserve order, especially in New England, the South, San Francisco, and certain parts of Ohio and Minnesota. Many of these strikes were settled through the personal intervention of President Roosevelt, or were submitted to arbitration by him or by committees appointed by him. General Hugh S. Johnson resigned as the NRA Administrator in October, and a general reorganization of its administration followed. The AAA program seemed generally acceptable to the farmers, and a vote on its corn-hog program showed approval by more than two to one.

**Monetary.**—Under the authority granted him by Congress, President Roosevelt in January reduced the gold value of the dollar to 59.06 cents, taking title for the Government of the dollar profit of \$2,800,000,000, which, it was announced later in the year, would be used eventually to balance the budget. An embargo was placed on silver exports on June 28, and on August 9 silver was nationalized. The Treasury planned to issue \$80,000,000 in silver certificates against 62,000,000 ounces of free silver. The Securities and Exchange Commission began its supervision of the stock exchanges on October 1. On June 30, the gross public debt was \$27,053,000,000, and the deficit almost four billion dollars. Internal revenue collections for the fiscal year of 1934 were \$2,672,239,194.52, an increase of \$1,052,399,970.22, including processing taxes. Federal deposit insurance became effective on January 1, 1934.

**Foreign Affairs.**—On January 23, the Mendieta Government of Cuba was officially recognized by the United States. On April 30, the United States aligned herself with Great Britain in a strong declaration for observance of international rights and obligations in China. At London during December, the naval conversations between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan ended with the United States gaining its point of maintaining the present ratio of 5-5-3.

### AUSTRIA

**Socialist Plot.**—In a year marked by political unrest and agitation by extremists two events stood out prominently: the Socialist conspiracy against the State early in February and the pro-German Nazi putsch late in July. The Socialist attempt was concentrated in Vienna where enough explosives to destroy the capital were found in the hands of the plotters. While Julius Deutsch and

Otto Bauer, leaders of the revolt, fled to Czechoslovakia, their followers barricaded themselves in the Karl Marx Hof and the apartment houses in the Florisdorf suburb, where they were attacked by the Government forces. The latter, including the national army, the police, and the Heimwehr, subdued all centers of Socialist resistance by a heavy artillery bombardment. Hundreds on both sides were killed and wounded. On February 15, the workingmen accepted an amnesty offered by Chancellor Dollfuss, while Prince Von Starhemberg renewed his protestations of loyalty to the Government. Martial law was abrogated one week later.

**Nazi Rebellion.**—Although Theodor Habicht, chief of the Austrian legion in Bavaria, threatened a *coup d'etat* for March, the situation was comparatively calm until the middle of May when the Nazi program of political terrorism was reinaugurated by an attempt upon the life of Chancellor Dollfuss. The latter, reconstructing his Cabinet, took over four more portfolios, becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs, of Defense, of Public Security, and of Agriculture. The Nazi series of bombings and political assassinations rose to a climax in July when a full-dress revolution was undertaken. Chancellor Dollfuss was shot without warning at the conclusion of a Cabinet meeting in the Chancellery, while other Ministers were held in close custody under the threat of death until late in the evening of July 25. The rebellion in the provinces was speedily suppressed, while the policies of Dr. Dollfuss were maintained by his successor, Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg, a member of the Christian Socialist party. Rumors of the restoration of the Hapsburgs were greeted with coldness in both Rome and Paris. After some delay Col. Franz Von Papen was accepted as German Ambassador to Austria. His diplomatic skill considerably eased the tension between Berlin and Vienna.

#### BELGIUM

**Leopold's First Year.**—In mid-February King Albert was killed by a fall while scaling a cliff at Namur. The Duke of Brabant took the oath next day and succeeded to the throne as Leopold III. In his address he promised to make every effort to revive labor, industry, and commerce. While Communists rioted, the Cabinet was reinstalled after a formal resignation. In June the De Broqueville Cabinet resigned after a Parliamentary defeat over the tax measures. Restored, De Broqueville continued in power until November, when financial and economic difficulties brought about his resignation again. George Theunis, known to be against deflation of the belga, took the post.

#### BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

**Domestic Affairs.**—The financial statement of the year ending in March showed a real surplus of £39,000,000. This was effected by stringent Governmental economies, by salary reduction of civil employees, cuts in unemployment insurance, etc., all of which were admitted to be temporary expedients. The amount of unemployment remained relatively the same, above two million, but there was promise of improvement. Measures for relief of the unemployed were passed by Parliament in the Spring, and

new enactments for those not on insurance benefits in December. Favorable reports on trade stimulation were made. While the National Government held its huge majority in Parliament, and could thus enforce Conservative policies, there were indications of a return of the Laborites to popular favor. This was shown by the returns of London by-elections and, in November, by the successes throughout the country in the elections to the Municipal and Borough Councils. Less concern was shown by the Government to Communistic propaganda and infiltration than to the uprise of Fascism under Sir Oswald Mosley, whose movement swiftly declined.

**Foreign Matters.**—The Government reasserted its desires for universal peace and pledged itself to the stabilization of Europe. It refused, however, to undertake new obligations for assistance, as in the Eastern Locarno agreement. In advocating a five-year program in airplane construction, Mr. Baldwin asserted the need for adequate defense, indicating that the new British frontier was the Rhine. Promise was made of the setting up of a Royal Commission for the investigation of arms' manufacture and traffic. In the matter of foreign trade, some results were achieved. After ten months of negotiations, an agreement was reached with Soviet Russia which covered the salient points of dispute. Difficulties with Germany about trade payments were adjusted sufficiently to allow the passage of goods. After long consideration of the increase of Japanese exports to India and the British colonies, a textile quota was invoked against Japanese goods for the protection of British industries. Modifications of trade relations with the Dominions, based on the Ottawa agreements, were urged.

**Australian Government Returned.**—In the hazards of the general election, the United Australia party led by Prime Minister Joseph A. Lyons, was victorious but held a slighter majority in Parliament than previously. The Country party, which was in general accord with the Government policy registered an increase in the number of seats. There were negotiations looking to a coalition Cabinet between these two parties, but Mr. Lyons would not accept the conditions set down by the Country leaders and felt himself strong enough to carry through independently. The moderate Laborites, under former Premier Scullin, suffered most, while the radical wing of Labor, under John T. Lang, showed surprising strength. The stimulation of foreign trade through low tariffs as against the Labor policy of economic nationalism was the announced program of the Government.

**Canada and the New Deal.**—Two series of by-elections in Ontario, and elections in the other Provinces, indicated a most decided repudiation of the Conservative regime, and a hopeful prospect for the Liberals under Mackenzie King in the general elections to be held in 1935. The Conservative Government was furthermore embarrassed by the resignation of Harry Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce. Mr. Stevens was responsible for the creation of a Royal Commission to investigate financial and industrial conditions in the Dominion. Startling revelations of capitalistic injustices and illegali-



ties and of exploitation of workers were alleged. Mr. Stevens issued such charges in a pamphlet and in addresses. He demanded a thorough investigation and Government action. His colleagues in the Conservative Cabinet were unwilling to agree to his campaign. Since his resignation, he has stirred the country and won quite general support from the press and the workers and other elements antagonistic to big business. Meanwhile, the Government, despite its efforts to regulate trade, both domestic and foreign, and to take effective measures in aid of the distressed, has been criticized for its inefficiency in combating the depression.

**India's Constitutional Reform.**—The decline of Mahatma Gandhi's political domination, which began in 1933, was more pronounced this past year. The high-caste Hindus led by Pandit Malaviya objected to his favorable attitude toward the Untouchables and the Moslem demands as well as to his compromises in regard to the proposed Constitutions. In October, he relinquished the Presidency of the All-India National Congress; though treated with reverence, he was unable to sway the Congress as formerly. In Great Britain, the Government presented to Parliament, immediately upon its opening, the question of the new Constitution for India. The bill, containing some 300 enactments, was based on the 350-page report of the non-political Parliamentary committee. Debate of the bill was the primary work of the session. Extreme Conservatives attacked it for granting too much self-government while Laborites asserted it offered too little. On December 19, the House of Lords approved the India Constitution plan, which had previously received a two-thirds majority in the Commons. The Government believed that the bill would be passed before the present session ended.

**Irish Free State Nationalism.**—By constitutional and diplomatic and propagandistic methods, the Fianna Fail Government furthered the separation of the Free State from the London Government and the British Commonwealth. Following the refusal of the Senate, in the Spring, to pass Government bills, the Dail voted in a final action to abolish the upper chamber. The Senate, as constituted, was deemed unnecessary and an obstruction to independence. Shortly after, the new American Minister presented his credentials to President de Valera and not to the Governor-General, the King's representative. The most forward action of the year was the bill presented to the Dail determining citizenship in the Free State and the status of Irish nationals abroad. The bill removes that "common citizenship" between the Free State and Great Britain and the Dominions settled in the Anglo-Irish Treaty. That Fianna Fail held a popular mandate for complete self-determination was proved by the results of the local elections held in June, and in the Senate elections, and was indicated strongly at the Congress of the party held in October. The Opposition was shaken by the enforced resignation of General O'Duffy from the leadership of the Blue Shirts, and the internal dissensions of the Cosgrave party.

**Ireland's Economic Policies.**—Since no settlement

was made on the question of Ireland's surrender of the Annuities to Great Britain, the trade war between the two countries was unabated. The English tariffs prevented cattle exports, on the one side, and the cattle raisers and dealers claimed inability to pay the Annuities to the Government. The Government responded with seizures and public auction of cattle. Trade declined considerably, the imports far exceeded the exports, so the adverse trade balance stood higher than at any time since the establishment of the Free State. The Government, however, made determined efforts to aid agriculture and the cattle trade, and strove to build up new industrial projects. Unemployment was not remedied to any extent. The budget gave some relief in taxation. It showed a surplus for ordinary expenses, but non-recurrent expenditures were charged to capital and secured through borrowing.

### EASTERN EUROPE

**Czechoslovak Relations Abroad.**—The demise of Cardinal Gasparri, initiator of the negotiations with the Holy See for a *Modus Vivendi*, brought mutual assurances that this would be carried through. Much attention was being paid by the Government towards avoiding friction with Poland. As to the economic situation, the budget was again balanced for the year, though with prospect again of some future deficit. Foreign trade showed an unexpected rise in September and the increase continued.

**Government Problems in Greece.**—In January Alexander Zaimas was re-elected President, a number of Syndicalist Senators, formerly Venizelists, voting for him. That same month a commercial agreement with the United States was signed for importing 3,000 tons of rice from the United States in return for a quota of 100,000 gallons of liquor. Notwithstanding Venizelists' opposition Parliament in March ratified the Balkan pact. Rumors of an impending dictatorial *coup* were quieted in April when Premier Tsaldaris and E. Venizelos reached a cordial political agreement. August found the Government uneasy over the move to make General Nicholas Plastiras dictator: twenty-five army officers were arrested for the plot. Throughout the year the Government made a heavy drive against the Communists. In an anti-Fascist demonstration in Athens in June three were shot and 300 arrested. As a result of a Government attempt to re-allocate reclaimed fields, peasants near Serres rioted in the Fall. On August 12, 200 Greeks forced out of Istanbul by Turkish trade laws arrived in Piraeus. On September 8 the ratified pact of Ankara was exchanged with Turkey. In October a number of important arrests were made in connection with the attempt to assassinate Venizelos in June, 1933, by members of the Republican Defense League. On December 14 President Zaimas, re-elected in October for a five-year term, took the oath of office.

**Domestic Events in Hungary.**—Hungary recognized Russia; entered trade and political agreements with Italy and Austria. 1,200 coal miners entombed themselves in a mine, threatened mass suicide in protest against low wages. An eleventh-hour settlement was reached on the fifth day. After the assassination of King Alexander, Yugoslavia deported Hungarian nationals. Hungary de-

nied furthering terroristic plots as charged by Yugoslavia.

**Death of the Yugoslav King.**—Until visited by tragic calamity the year looked bright for Yugoslavia. Great enthusiasm was aroused by the conference at Sofia between King Alexander of Yugoslavia and King Boris of Bulgaria. On October 9, after arriving at Marseilles for an official visit to France, King Alexander was shot dead by a Macedonian revolutionary. The latter was killed by the police and the mob after he had inflicted mortal wounds upon the French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou who died shortly. Alexander's eleven-year-old son, Prince Peter, was recalled from school in England. Prince Paul, the King's brother took office as Regent together with MM. Stankovitch and Perovitch, the three having been appointed by the late King in his will. Intense scenes of national mourning followed.

**Dispute with Hungary.**—A memorandum was submitted to the League of Nations by the Yugoslavs accusing the Hungarians of harboring the criminals, an accusation which was met by complete denials from official Hungary. To aggravate the situation Yugoslavia began a series of mass deportations of non-nationalized Hungarians, nearly 3,000 of whom were summarily shipped across the border. Only the active intervention of the League of Nations prevented war from breaking out between the two nations.

**New Polish Constitution Approved.**—A new Constitution favoring strong executive rule was approved. A ten-year non-aggression pact with Germany was signed; the Polish-Soviet non-aggression agreement was extended to 1945. The Polish-French alliance was confirmed. An agreement with Danzig ended a fifteen-year trade war. In May a new Cabinet was inducted, with land reform its chief objective. Interior Minister Pieracki was assassinated June 5.

**Cabinet Crises in Rumania.**—Following the assassination of Premier Duca on December 29, 1933, by followers of the Iron Guard, whose purpose was to introduce Hitler's anti-Semitic program, M. Angelescu became Premier but was forced to resign after five days and was succeeded by George Tatarescu. Throughout the year other Cabinet crises followed particularly in connection with the trial of the murderers of Premier Duca. The pro-German element wished Titelescu removed as Foreign Minister, while France warned King Carol that a change would be an unfriendly act. However, in October the Cabinet finally resigned because of a disagreement between the King and the Foreign Minister. The same day M. Tatarescu formed a new Cabinet. Anti-Semitism continued throughout the year. A plot to kill King Carol was foiled in April. In the middle of December rumors of a Parliametary row over the continued presence of the King's friend, Mme. Magda Lupescu, were reported precipitated by Juliu Maniu, leader of the Peasant party. His action was sharply criticized in the Senate by former Premier Nikolai Jorga.

#### FAR EAST

**China.**—Inter-provincial wars, extensive banditry, and disorders occasioned by the Reds disturbed domestic peace all year. The bandits captured and executed a number of

missionaries. In the fall both Canton and Nanking Governments launched a vigorous anti-Red campaign. Relations with Japan were strained because of activities in North China. Negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchukuo by Russia were reported near conclusion at the end of the year. The Nanking Government laid before the United States proposals for a revision of the 1903 treaty. On March 1 Henry Pu Yi was enthroned as Emperor of Manchukuo.

**Japan.**—Following a number of minor Cabinet changes, a serious crisis in May brought Admiral Keisuke Okada to the Premiership in place of Viscount M. Saito. The general policy of the country was one of peace, and commercially it was very active, especially in South American countries. In April, in a statement of policy on China, Japan asserted responsibility for maintenance of peace in the Far East. At times there were rumors of imminent war with Russia but, apart from border clashes of troops, nothing serious eventuated. In March the Diet ended a peaceful session. Earlier it had passed a trade-protection act. The birth of a Crown Prince in February occasioned much rejoicing. In September the country was visited by the worst typhoon in recent years. The establishment in Manchukuo of a Government oil monopoly, entrusted to a Japanese company, brought protests from Great Britain, the United States, and the Netherlands that the move was a violation of the Nine Power Treaty and the Open Door policy in China. In May a Government drive against Communists occasioned the arrest in one day of 736.

#### FRANCE

**Near Revolution.**—The Chautemps Government was only one month old when, on the last day of 1933, the Bayonne pawnshop scandal was discovered. Two Cabinet Ministers seemed implicated, and the Government resigned early in February. Daladier formed a coalition Government, but public fury against the politicians had risen to such a pitch that mobs marched against Parliament, and in the Place de la Concorde fifteen people were killed and 500 wounded by police gunfire. When the rioting continued over several days the Daladier Cabinet resigned; Doumergue was summoned to rescue the nation from revolution. He announced his Government of National Union on February 9. But its exclusion of the extreme Left raised fears of Fascism among Communists and Labor elements and the streets echoed again with gunfire when they rioted. During March the country seethed over the Stavisky and Prince investigations. In April the budget was uppermost, with the Premier trying to make up the deficit by pay and pension cuts among civil workers and veterans. There were workers' strikes of protest. These economy measures also caused riots in mid-April, and mobs tried to capture the City Hall. On May Day police and Communists engaged in rifle fire.

**New Cabinet.**—In July Tardieu broke the political truce by an attack upon Chautemps over the Stavisky affair. This precipitated a Cabinet crisis which the Premier solved after some difficulty. In October, in a radio address, Doumergue proposed constitutional reforms to curtail the power of the Chamber of Deputies and to give



the Cabinet control over finance bills. The Barthou assassination, the Sarraut and Chéron resignations, brought on other Cabinet crises. In November Doumergue's insistence upon reforms and budget measures brought about his resignation. Repetition of the February street riots was feared. Flandin accepted the Ministry, and as the year closed he showed a surprising strength.

#### GERMANY

**Radical Constitutional Changes.**—The appearance of the new year marked the disappearance of the German States. The Reichsrat was abolished; Hitler and his Cabinet were empowered to make new constitutional law. Trade agreements with Yugoslavia, Denmark, Poland; a non-aggression pact with Poland were signed. The new Labor Code, promulgated in May, claimed to replace class warfare with class cooperation. Hitler, attempting to offset German diplomatic isolation, visited Mussolini in Venice, June 14, 15. Failure to install the full socialistic program spread discontent among radical Nazis. The Storm Troops' leader, Capt. Ernst Roehm, made increasingly ambitious demands upon Hitler concerning army control. Hitler announced a leave of absence for Roehm, a month's vacation for Storm Troopers. Vice-Chancellor von Papen addressing Marburg students in June made a bold attack on Nazi tendencies.

**Hitler Crushes Revolt.**—On June 29, Hitler heard from Gen. Goering of a plot by Roehm, Heines and others to seize power. Flying from Bonn through the night, Hitler reached Munich at dawn, June 30, strode into Roehm's bedroom, arrested him. Roehm, Heines and others were shot. In Berlin, under Goering, rifles blazed. Among the victims were former Chancellor Von Schleicher, his wife, three Von Papen secretaries, two prominent Catholic leaders, Drs. Klausener and Probst. The total death toll was officially placed at 77. The Storm Troops were drastically reduced in numbers.

**International Tension.**—The assassination of Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss, July 25, created an international crisis because of widespread belief in German complicity. To calm world feeling, especially Italian, Hitler restrained Austrian Nazis in Germany, appointed Von Papen, Minister to Vienna. On August 2, death came to President Paul von Hindenburg. Hitler became absolute autocrat of the Reich. In a plebiscite, August 19, approximately ninety per cent of the voters approved the Chancellor's assumption of supreme power.

**Unemployment Reduced.**—Unemployment was greatly reduced, achieved largely by spreading work. Wage levels were thus lower. Prices were higher. Many listed as employed worked for keep. The German debt tangle ran through the year. The United States, possessing no German trade balances, could only send sharp notes, while Great Britain and other nations enforced their demands. The German armament budget was almost doubled. Other nations would not disarm down; Germany armed up. An agreement with France concerning return of the Saar was reached. A shortage of raw materials resulting from unfavorable foreign trade balances hampered industry and aggravated the unemployment problem.

**Church War.**—The battle between Reichsbishop Mueller, supported by Nazi police, and the traditional Protestant forces continued through the year. Mueller's aim, his foes said, was a National Church colored with Nordic paganism. By July he had wiped out 22 of the 28 autonomous State Churches. The traditional Protestants formed an opposition body. Mueller's efforts to subordinate the Bavarian and Wuerttemberg regional churches created such public disturbances he was forced to desist.

**Catholic Church Assailed.**—Widespread Nazi attacks on the Catholic Church in violation of the Concordat marked the year. Little redress could be obtained. Hitler Youth, center of infidel teachings, strove to break down Catholic Youth and absorb its members. Nazi newspapers and speakers ridiculed Catholic teaching. Blood and race were held up as supreme ideals; Christianity scoffed at. The shackled Catholic press could not freely defend the Faith. Bishops, priests were attacked; many priests were in prison. Efforts to reach a definite understanding with Hitler concerning interpretations of the Concordat were unavailing. It was widely believed that though Hitler desired religious peace before the Saar plebiscite, the ultimate Nazi aim was a National Nazi Church for all Germans based on blood and race. Discriminations against the Jews continued.

#### ITALY

**Mussolini's Corporative State.**—In March, 10,000,000 citizens cast an almost unanimous vote for the list of 400 Parliamentary candidates drawn up by the Fascist Grand Council. Since Premier Mussolini's bill giving official existence to a Corporative State had previously passed the Senate by a large majority, this newly elected Chamber immediately became known as the "Suicide Chamber." Everybody knew that it would also obey the Premier's orders to abolish itself together with the whole Parliamentary system. The Parliament met at the end of April and heard Mussolini's plans. Twenty-two Councils of Corporation were to be established. These new bodies were to direct and control all activities in industry, commerce, and the professions. Each Corporation was to have an equal number of representatives of employers and employees devoted to a policy of self-administration under Government supervision. From the 800 members of the Councils would later be chosen the members of the National Council of Corporations, which would replace the Chamber of Deputies. In May, the Premier announced his determination to build battleships up to the limit of the Washington Treaty and to renew the air force. Italians, he said, would adopt a lower standard of living, with a reduction in salaries and wages for all. The budget, with a deficit of 3,500,000,000 lire, must be balanced, but the currency would not be depreciated. Several months later Il Duce again won world attention when, in a speech at the Bologna military maneuvers, he seemed to blame Germany for the assassination of Dollfuss, and told his men that they must prepare not for a war of tomorrow, but for a war of today. On November 10, the nation inaugurated the long-planned Councils of Corporations.

## LATIN AMERICA

**Argentina.**—Despite occasional revolts in the Provinces and discord in his Cabinet, President Justo managed to keep the country peaceful and prosperous. A state of siege declared early in the year by the Senate was ended by the President in July. Vigorous efforts were made against the Communists, 237 of whom were seized in a plot to call a general strike. The high spot in the year's history was the Eucharistic Congress at Buenos Aires, presided over by Cardinal Pacelli as Papal Legate. It was a splendid demonstration of Argentinian faith, especially among the men of the nation, led by the President and other Government officials. In July Pope Pius XI announced the elevation of Monsignor Copello, Archbishop of Buenos Aires, to the rank of Cardinal. In connection with the Congress His Holiness honored President Justo with the Papal decoration.

**Brazil.**—A new Constitution thoroughly Catholic in spirit was adopted and promulgated, and on July 16 Dr. G. Vargas, Liberal, who had been Provisional President since 1930, was elected Constitutional President. It was mainly due to His Eminence Cardinal Cintra, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, that the new Constitution contained so many Catholic principles. In the subsequent general elections the Vargas Government was given wholehearted support. In the 1935 budget presented to the President by the Legislature a deficit of 522,107 contos, including \$576,452 was shown. The estimated receipts were 2,169,557 contos, expenditures 2,691,664. Commenting on the deficit the President stated that it was no cause for concern as it was largely due to abnormal conditions.

**Chaco War.**—The war between Paraguay and Bolivia in the Chaco area was waged relentlessly all year with varying success, though in November and December Paraguay made notable advances. There were a number of fatalities on both sides and a great many prisoners taken. Efforts by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to mediate all proved unavailing; likewise the good offices of Peru and Colombia. The League of Nations in November made a demand on both countries for a cessation of the war, but its peace plan was also rejected by the belligerents. The arms embargo put into force against both belligerents by thirty-two countries, including all the major arms manufacturers except Japan which declared that it was not exporting war material to either nation, was applied in September: rumor had it that it was being indirectly violated and not entirely effective.

**Chile.**—Throughout the year a vigorous campaign was launched against Communists and Red agitators, obviously inspired from the South American Soviet quarters in Montevideo. In August diplomatic relations with Paraguay were severed owing to the enlistment of Chileans in the Bolivian Army. As an aftermath of a blasphemous speech in Parliament in November, Archbishop Campillo of Santiago ordered a triduum of reparation in the churches.

**Colombia.**—In March Alfonso Lopez, Liberal, was elected President to succeed President Herrera in August. In May the settlement of the Leticia dispute was an-

nounced, Peru and Colombia both accepting the plan of Dr. Franco, former Foreign Minister of Brazil. However, Congress, which adjourned on November 17, failed to ratify the pact. There was a rumor that President Lopez might call a special session. During the regular session Congress passed no more than ten laws and left much unfinished business to be transacted when it adjourned.

**Cuba.**—The beginning of the year, January 1934, witnessed Cuba moving swiftly to the collapse of the Grau San Martin regime. Stripped of student support the President resigned on January 15. The next day, due to a compromise between Generals Batista and Guiteras, Carlos Hevia was appointed President. On January 18, Batista's friend, Carlos Mendieta, became President. Recognition by the United States was swiftly granted the Cuban Government. With the Cuban and American interests behind him, President Mendieta has led Cuba through a period of reconstruction. The shackles on Cuban sovereignty were removed when the United States signed a treaty abandoning the Platt Amendment. In October the Nationalist party headed by Mendieta assumed complete control removing internal dissensions in view of the elections on March 3, 1935.

**Ecuador.**—Inaugurated President in the beginning of September, President Ibarra had a stormy regime until the end of the year. In October he tendered his resignation but immediately withdrew it. Attempts to reconstruct the Cabinet satisfactorily failed. A dissident Congressional bloc obstructed the President's administration and on November 11 new pressure was brought upon him to resign but unsuccessfully. He declared accusations that his Government was planning to establish a dictatorship "were false and slanderous."

**Mexico.**—The year marked an increase in persecution of Catholics and attempted suppression of all religion in many parts of the Republic. Priests and Bishops were expelled from many of the States, and their number and activities severely restricted in others. An amendment to Article 3 of the Constitution was passed, declaring education to be "scientific and Socialistic," and excluding religious education from all public and private schools. General Calles accentuated the struggle for Mexican youth when he declared in July that "the child and the youth belong to the community," that the Government must do whatever was necessary to control them. United States Ambassador Daniels endorsed the Mexican plan of education in a speech, causing strong protests in Mexico and the United States. Archbishop Diaz declared that the Government had seized 150 churches within little more than a year. The Bishops in the United States on November 16 vigorously protested the persecutions in Mexico, as did many Protestant, Jewish, and other Catholic groups. Gen. Lazaro Cárdenas was elected to the Presidency and took office on December 1 for a six-year term. In his inaugural address he expressed a determination to continue the Socialistic education which had aroused such widespread protests and student strikes. Early in the year Narciso Bassols, Minister of Education, had endeavored



to establish compulsory sexual education in the schools. His plan was defeated by the indignation and sustained protests of parents, and Bassols resigned on May 9. But in December he was appointed to President Cárdenas' Cabinet, as was Tomas Garrido Canabal, an extreme radical. Late in December, President Cárdenas initiated his nationalistic program, with Mexicans having complete preference in concessions and government positions. During the year the American special claims against Mexico were settled; the Banco de Mexico issued 20,000,000 pesos in road-construction bonds guaranteed by gasoline taxation. Earlier the State legislatures approved a bill "federalizing" the electric industry, but no action under it had been taken. Petroleum and its derivatives were declared articles of public utility and the National Economy Department in July was given power to fix prices for these products.

**Nicaragua.**—In February the country was thrown into consternation when General Augusto Sandino, his brother, and two aides were treacherously slain by National Guardsmen. President Sacasa vehemently denounced the assassinations, thought to have been instigated by the jealousy of General Anastacio Somaza, head of the National Guard. It will be recalled that the efforts of the United States to capture General Sandino before he made peace with the new Sacasa Government were spread over nearly six years, and cost the United States Marine Corps more than 120 lives and several million dollars. In opening Congress in the middle of December the President in his message emphasized the necessity of balancing the budget and keeping within Government income, stressing the advice of the Washington economist Dr. C. E. McGuire. He predicted wide benefits from the reorganization of the Agricultural Mortgage Bank and the new usury law. Among projects for the expansion of the country's trade he cited work on the Atlantic Coast Highway, the opening of a port of entry at Nacascolo on the Gulf of Fonseca, the reduction of freight rates, and the encouragement of air service.

#### SOVIET RUSSIA

**Debts Question.**—The new Ambassador, Alexander Troyanovsky, arrived in Washington January 7. His principal problem in Washington was that of the Soviet debts. Russian hopes for American long-term credits were dashed by the Johnson bill forbidding loans to defaulting nations and the adherence to the decision of the Export-Import Bank in Washington. Seven months of conference brought no results.

**Agriculture and Industry.**—In Russia the agricultural situation was favored in the Spring by successful sowing of a tenfold increased area, and individualist farmers were forced more and more into the Collectives. The drought, which came later in July, brought, however, a reduction of hopes, and while the threat of immediate famine seemed to have passed, so that the Government was able to announce in November that the bread cards would no longer need to be issued after the close of the year, there was still some anxiety. In spite of Soviet advertising propaganda, world sentiment appeared convinced of the truth

of the accusation that the famine of 1933 had been artificially created. There was an increase in production during the first quarter of 1934 as compared with the former year. There were gains in manufactured commodities, and in steel; favorable reports were issued in September for heavy industry. The gold output was reported as steadily increasing, but not enough apparently to inspire confidence in foreign creditors. Transportation remained the crucial question.

**Diplomacy.**—In its foreign relations the Soviet prepared for war in the Far East where naval and airplane bases were hurriedly consolidated with a view to Japan; in the West peace was sought and active cooperation with the French sphere of influence in Europe. Incessant attempts to bring Germany into the proposed security pact with the other Eastern European States had no result. New non-aggression treaties were signed, however, with the Baltic States. The year's great diplomatic triumph was Russia's entrance into the League of Nations on September 18 by a vote of thirty-nine for, three against, namely Switzerland, Holland, and Portugal, and seven abstaining. The impression, however, of peaceful cooperation which this event produced was badly shaken by the assassination on December 1 of M. Kirov, intimate of Joseph Stalin, which was followed by a series of executions totaling 103 by the middle of December, most of them without counsel or trial. Even ardent Soviet sympathizers throughout the world were disturbed by this manifestation of drastic political power.

#### SPAIN

**Revolution Feared.**—As the year began, the triumph of the Right in the first general Parliamentary elections was only a month old. The Catholic Popular Action party under Gil Robles decided to support the Lerroux Government without accepting ministerial posts. In February, it was reported that a revolutionary general strike was being organized by Syndicalists and that Largo Caballero was maneuvering Syndicalists and Socialists into a united front. A British broadcast falsely reported that the general strike would begin on March 11.

**New Cabinet.**—Over a difference with the President concerning Monarchist prisoners, the Lerroux Cabinet resigned. Ricardo Samper formed a coalition Government. Gil Robles repudiated Monarchist sympathies and emphatically declared that his party was republican. In June, Barcelona came close to civil war with Madrid over the Catalan land laws. In August, the Basque countries also threatened a separatist movement. In September, Syndicalists and Socialists engineered a general strike in Madrid when Catalan owners came there to protest the land laws. A widespread Socialist plot to establish a proletarian dictatorship was discovered and crushed the same month. On October 1, the Cortes reconvened, and the land-law question brought about the resignation of Premier Samper on the same day. Lerroux again accepted the post.

**The Revolution Fails.**—The long-expected revolution broke out when the new Premier took into his Cabinet three members of the Catholic Popular Action party.

There were two simultaneous revolts. One was the uprising of the Socialists, Communists, and Anarcho-Syndicalists, joined in a united front for a proletarian Republic. The other was the independent move for freedom by the Catalan Esquerra. Fighting was especially bloody and protracted in the Asturian mine regions. As Madrid crushed the revolts and captured the leaders, the Leftists refused to return to the Cortes, which then adjourned. It met again on November 5, with the Left benches still vacant. As the year closed the nation enjoyed comparative peace.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Arms Conference.**—Disarmament talks were resumed at Geneva on January 18. The German disarmament note of January 19 was met by an aggressive French reply objecting to semi-military organizations and demanding guarantees. The French completely rejected the British arms memorandum, which advocated allowing equal rights in armament to the Germans. In reply to a British memorandum the United States Government made public on March 2 a plan for a universal treaty of non-aggression. Meanwhile increased budgets for rebuilding armaments were approved by the Powers and at the close of the year new increases were again voted despite all political intervening events. The Disarmament Conference later confined itself to limitation rather than reduction of armaments. President Roosevelt advocated to Congress in May international control of the arms traffic. The "Eastern Locarno," a regional security pact for Eastern Europe, was discussed but was unacceptable to Great Britain, Italy, and Germany. Complete pessimism was declared in Great Britain on June 27 by the British Air Secretary as to the Arms Conference. When resumed in October little occurred. A draft treaty on arms manufacture was proposed in November by the United States which required licensing and a permanent commission. Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union approved, but Italy was not interested. The conflict between the Powers advocating revision of the War debts and those standing for the status quo seemed to be the major obstacle to agreement.

**Naval Discussions.**—Six months and more of parleying in London left the three Powers, Great Britain, Japan and the United States, who were engaged in conversations in London, preliminary to the naval conversations of 1935, just where they were on January 24 when Secretary Swanson was quoted as saying he would oppose Japan's demand for a larger navy ratio than that which the treaty assigned her. Increased appropriations in each country threatened a building race. Japan desired the abandonment of the ratio program, reduction of the British and American tonnage to the Japanese level, and the principle of equality and security, though they agreed not to build to the limit. This attitude was consistently maintained by the Japanese at home and abroad from then on. The United States rejoined to Admiral Okada's words on July 31 that the 5-5-3 ratio was there to stay but that a twenty per cent reduction could be made all around; but this, the Japanese said, was unacceptable. There was continued uneasiness among the Americans over the reluctance of

the British to join issue with Japan, due evidently to the complex industrial situation with which the British were confronted, as well as the constant threat of Soviet Russia on the Far Eastern naval front. On December 18 Japan put the cap on the discussions by announcing definitely that the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922 would have to be abrogated in 1936.

**Preparations for Saar Plebiscite.**—On June 1, the League of Nations announced that a date had finally been set for the plebiscite in the Saar territory: January 13, 1935. A special neutral tribunal, headed by Geoffrey Knox of Great Britain, was set up and the rules for the plebiscite were accepted by both France and Germany. Later in the year an international army was recruited to supervise the election itself. Although the Social Democrats held mass meetings in favor of retaining the present status under the League of Nations, the majority of the Saar inhabitants, predominantly German and seventy per cent Catholic, were thought to be ready for reunion with the Reich. Acting under instructions from the Vatican, communicated through the Bishops of Treves and Speyer, the Catholic priests of the territory were careful to refrain from political propaganda.

**Debts Question.**—The foreign-debt situation was affected by the Johnson bill prohibiting the buying or selling of bonds and securities issued by nations in default. France, Italy, and Belgium were held to be in this class, as well as Russia. On June 4 the British Embassy announced suspension of Britain's War debt payments. This followed President Roosevelt's message to Congress which stated that each case would be considered upon its own merits, and that Americans would be influenced by the use that debtor countries made of their available resources. Secretary Hull's suggestion that the British make payments in kind met with no enthusiasm in Great Britain. France, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia stated that they would be unable to meet their obligations. No change in the situation appeared at the recurrence on December 15 of the time for payment save that the British announced still more definitely that they could not pay the instalment due on that date.

**Vatican State.**—On April 2 the Jubilee to mark the nineteenth centenary of the Redemption was solemnly closed in St. Peter's. The festivities had brought innumerable pilgrims to Rome to the great consolation of the Holy Father. Its last months were marked by a number of canonizations, many of them Founders of Religious Orders. For the first time since 1870 the Pope spent his summer vacation outside Rome. The relations of the Papacy with foreign Governments were generally cordial, though Hitler's failure to abide by the German Concordat caused much anxiety. In his allocutions and addresses the Pontiff constantly denounced the anti-religious moves in Russia, Spain, Mexico, and Germany, as well as the spread of atheism and false nationalism. He pleaded earnestly for world peace and international justice and charity, along with more Christian standards of living in private life. Deaths in the College of Cardinals included Cardinals Gasparri, Mori, and Ehrle.